













THE

# CALCUTTA REVIEW

ART. I.—1. *Lieut. Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack. Calcutta, G. H. Huttman, Bengal Military Orphan Press, 1842.*

2. *Various Official Documents (hitherto unpublished.)*

IN the ninth number of this work appeared a condensed epitome of all the information which we could glean, whether from published reports or hitherto unpublished official documents, on the subject of the Khonds—their country, the mode in which we were suddenly brought in contact with them, as well as the social and religious characteristics by which they are so peculiarly distinguished.

In the twelfth number of our work, we furnished,—exclusively from official documents rendered accessible to us by the liberal policy of Lord Hardinge—a detailed account of the first series of Government measures for the extirpation of the atrocious system of human sacrifice among this singular remnant of the ancient indigenous tribes of India. These measures, though infinitely creditable alike to the Government and its accredited agents,—from a comparative ignorance of the inner life and structure of Khond Society as well as inadequate apprehensions of the real nature and extent of the difficulties involved in the attempt,—did not terminate in any satisfactory results. Still, they were not wholly fruitless as regarded the ultimate realization of the main object contemplated. Far from it. In a preparatory point of view, they were of essential service. They helped to shew how very deeply the abhorrent rite of the Meriah sacrifice had struck its roots into the physical, social, and moral being of the Khond tribes hitherto visited—like the aged pine on the mountain's brow, insinuating its downward fibres into every crevice of the rock, with such outspreading force and cleaving tenacity, that to sever it from its commanding position, might seem equivalent to the rending of the rock itself into fragments. They served effectually to expose the utter insufficiency of some of the plans and processes which had been benevolently suggested,—fairly tried—weighed in the balances of

experiment and found wanting. They tended to lay bare the radical—the suicidal evils involved in such an undertaking being conducted in contiguous districts, by the agents of two independent local jurisdictions, under the guidance of two independent Governments, such as those of Madras and Bengal. They conclusively demonstrated that isolated, occasional, desultory efforts, however congruous in themselves and vigorous in execution, must ever end in disappointment; and, consequently, that nothing could prove commensurate to the great design, short of a combined, sustained, continuous and systematic effort, based on the suggestions of past observation and experiment, and prosecuted, it might be, for years, with unrelaxed and undimining energy.

Impressed length, with such views and sentiments, or views and sentiments somewhat akin to these, and in order to pave the way for more effective measures, the Supreme Government resolved to depute an officer on a special mission into Khondistan—a special mission of preparatory inquiry, rather than of immediate action. The opening of routes and passes through the wild tracts—the encouraging of the commercial intercourse between the hills and the plains by all available means, and the establishing of fairs or marts for that purpose—the raising of a semi-military police force from among the hill men, upon a footing similar to that of the Paik company of Cuttack:—these and other kindred objects of a general character were those to which his attention was to be chiefly and more immediately confined; while, in regard to the great ulterior purpose aimed at, viz. the abolition of the Meriah rite, the injunction was, that “he should cautiously approach any intimation in human sacrifices.”\*

The officer nominated for the prosecution of this important mission was Captain Macpherson. And we are bound to say, that never was there an appointment more honorable to the Government or to the object of its choice. It was altogether one of high disinterested principle, with which sinister favouritism had nothing to do. During the Goomsur war in 1836-7, Captain Macpherson, while on survey under orders of the Commissioner of Goomsur and Souradah, through his own indefatigable industry, obtained possession of copious materials, which he carefully arranged and reduced into the form of an elaborate report. This report, which he was called on to submit for the consideration of Government, contained, as formerly indicated,† a full, clear, systematic, and authoritative

\* See No. XII. p. 79-80.

† See No. IX. p. 24.

dissertation on the whole subject of the Khonds—shedding on every topic, whether primary or subordinate, a full and steady light which we look for in vain elsewhere. Such a document could not but recommend its author to a high-minded Government—exclusively and disinterestedly bent, in this instance at least, on a notable philanthropic achievement. To the talent for original and recondite research displayed in this report, and to the courage and patience exhibited under the personal toil and fatigue voluntarily encountered in prosecuting it—and to these chiefly, if not alone, was Captain Macpherson indebted for the patronage of Government. In a word, he received the appointment simply and solely because, from the multiplied proofs of superior fitness which his own labours had afforded, he was honestly adjudged to be the most qualified for the successful accomplishment of its leading objects.

During the prosecution of preliminary enquiries, respecting the parts visited, their resources, the different classes of their population, and other topics of a general character, it was deemed proper that the Government of Madras should superintend the proceedings, and that their more immediate control should be in the hands of the local agent to that Government. In other words, the officer appointed, though his mission was a special one, was not to act directly, as an independent agent, under the orders of the higher authorities, either at Madras or Calcutta. He was only to be head assistant for Khond affairs to the Commissioner or Madras Governor's agent in the Ganjam province.

Since the parts, formerly visited and reported on by Captain Macpherson, lay to the *north* in the hilly regions of Goomsur and Boad, his purpose now was to ascend the Ghats to the *south* of Goomsur, and stretching westward between it and Chinna Kimeddy. This, accordingly, he did in December 1841. In pursuit of the special objects of his mission, his route lay through the Khond district of Pondacole, with its six thousand inhabitants; and Bori with its twelve or fifteen thousand. At Guddapore and Sonapore in Bori, he was also visited by Khonds from the fertile and populous district of Guladye, with its seven or ten thousand souls; as also from the Hill parts of Bodoghoru; from Kimeddy, both southward and westward, to the boundaries of the Jeypore and Kalahundy Zemindaries; and from the tracts which lie towards the west and north-west, as far as Shubernagherry.

These were the limits of his enquiries, owing to severe sickness which soon disabled himself and nearly the whole of his attendants.

The insalubrity of the climate has repeatedly been referred to, as one of the chief difficulties in carrying out any designs with respect to the hill population. And never, any where, was the obstacle of climate found more formidable than on the present occasion. In the most favourable month of the year, under every precaution, the proportion of persons attacked by fever, of a large and mixed camp, after a residence of but *twenty days* in the Hills, was about *ninety per cent.* The party having been immediately withdrawn, few died; but nearly all who suffered, including Captain Macpherson himself, were invalids for months; and the dread with which the people of the low country of every class, regarded the region of the Ghats became extreme.

But, though the period of sojourn above the Ghats was thus untowardly shortened, it was improved to good purpose. A vast deal of new and valuable information was obtained, respecting the country and its inhabitants. The agent's success in this respect greatly redounded to his credit, and amply justified the decision of Government in selecting him for the arduous and delicate task. For arduous and delicate it was in every point of view. At the very outset, was the agent confronted by the most formidable difficulties. Without something like a confidential intercourse with the natives, it is clear that there could not be that free and unrestrained expression of sentiment, on both sides, which was essential to the main object of the mission. But how, in the face of opposing difficulties, was such intercourse to be established? Let us hear Captain Macpherson on the subject:—

“The impressions which existed amongst the Khond population respecting the Government which were derived from our operations in this quarter in 1836 and 1837, were deeply marked by fear and mistrust. And notwithstanding the use of every art calculated to dissipate apprehension and to give assurance that my intentions were purely friendly, all the villages were deserted before me. I therefore halted in the first valley within the hills, until I felt quite satisfied that different ideas were both established there, and had in some degree preceded me. The nearest hamlets soon gained confidence. Then a section of a tribe ventured to come out from the forest, not rushing into my camp in wild and fantastic procession, armed and dancing, with shouts and stunning music, as is the fashion of these Khonds, but approaching without arms, in extreme fear and requiring much encouragement to come to my tents, while spies from all the tribe around anxiously expected the result of the experiment. The alarm of the first comers having been dispelled, other parties by degrees, but very cautiously imitated their example; and I then moved on. Another considerable pause at the next stage brought all the tribes within a circuit of many miles to my tents, and thence forwards, roads were laboriously cut for my passage through the forest—and I had to choose between those offered to me by the rival tribes, who daily crowded my camp: under these

circumstances I felt some degree of confidence that I should not materially misapprehend the obscure and difficult phenomena which I wished to observe, and that I could generally communicate the impressions which I desired."

In these and similar ways, by an admirable combination of prudence, conciliation, and firmness, were fear, mistrust, and jealousy supplanted by the opposite feelings of dawning hope and kindly confidence. The change which ensued was like that which follows the melting away of the icy accumulations of a long and severe winter. It had about it all the freshening glow and budding promise of a genial spring. It looked hopefully to a summer of glorious blossoms and an autumn of mellow fruit.

To the leading points of the copious information now received, we may now briefly allude. And first of all we may begin with the glance that is afforded us of the general features of the country:—

"The chain of Ghats in this quarter is formed of a central ridge which runs nearly from North to South, and is spread into a broken table land of varying breadth, having a mean elevation of about 2,000 feet. This irregular plateau is supported to the Eastward by inferior ranges of hills which run parallel to it, and which are connected with it by buttresses. The valleys are deep, narrow, and complicated upon the great scale, confused upon the small; the drainage cutting its way through vast masses of detritus which encumber them: granitic gneiss, which is occasionally capped by laterite, is the only rock. In some tracts it decomposes in boulders, which present a manageable surface to the pioneer; in others its structure is uniformly massive. A rich and various forest, broken by occasional patches of bambu jungle, covers the whole surface, and extends, according to my information, supported by that obtained by Captain Hill, without a six-mile break, through a space of two degrees to the Westward. In this forest are found all the valuable timber trees of the country, and these have been floated down from Souradah to the mouth of the Russagala river at Gianjam, at very low rates. The dammer tree abounds in these tracts. It has been ascertained, (by the reference of specimens to Calcutta,) that it is not the saul. The vegetable products of economical value of this part of the Hill country, whether cultivated or wild, are identical with those of Goomsur."

The traffic carried on between the hill people now visited, and those of the lowland districts, in spite of the fearfully rugged mountain pathways, was found to be vastly greater than had been previously supposed. From the hills there were annually sent down to the low country about *ten thousand* bullock loads of turmeric alone, and about *four thousand* bullock loads of other articles, such as tamarind, mustard, arrow-root, sweet oil, ginger, cotton, wax, honey, red and yellow dye; red pepper, plaintains, sweet potatoes, vetch, &c. The articles

of trade taken to the Khond country, were salt, salt-fish, iron, cattle, brass vessels and ornaments, tobacco, woollen cloth, coarse red cotton cloth, coarse white cloth, with flowered edges, coarse white cotton cloth, cheap chintzes, silk, beads, &c. Of the eight routes by which this extensive traffic was conducted, in the country between the Goomsur Maliahs on the north, and those of Chinna Kimeddy on the south, the agent was enabled to ascertain that, which, though far from promising, was decidedly the best, with a view to future improvement and enlarged commercial and military objects.

He found the population to consist chiefly of Khonds, both Bennisah and Maliah;\* also of Hindus, including the petty chiefs of districts subordinate to zemindaries, with their connections and followers, the few resident hill merchants, and the paiks;† and of certain classes, who are neither Khonds

\* For the distinction between these, see No. IX. page 27.

† In his unpublished Report Captain Macpherson supplies the following farther particulars:—

“The only two district chiefs are the military or “Tat” Rajah, of Cattinga in Bodoghoro, and Guddapore in Chinna Kimeddy. The former is an old man who has some reputation for shrewdness, and for influence with the Khonds. The latter is a boy of fourteen, whom I observed, with a view to his being turned to account as an instrument in future measures towards the Khonds; but he appeared of little promise, growing up in seclusion and in ignorance; the Brahman teachers who have been procured for him having all died in the pestilential climate of Guddapore. I made his people promise to find another instructor for him. His affairs are managed by his mother, a grasping old dealer in turmeric.

These Tat Rajahs respectively acknowledge the superiority of Bodoghoro and of Chinna Kimeddy by the payment of nominal tribute, and by other forms; they buy small tracts of corn land which were originally ceded to them by the Khonds for their support, and they levy certain imposts upon the hill trade. The tribe attached to them, besides, make them annual offerings of good will which are collectively of value. They possess considerable influence, but no manner of authority over the Khonds, the first condition of that influence is their sanction and countenance of every Khond usage whatever. It would immediately cease were they to presume to oppose or to condemn any point of their religion or of the manners of the ancient masters of the soil. They accordingly remain perfectly neuter betwixt the sacrificing and the non-sacrificing tribes. Far from affecting disapproval of the worship of the latter, the Guddapore Rajah for example, sends his paiks in a body, at the request of the presiding patriarchs, to fire salutes in honor of the great rite upon every occasion of its performance.

The Hill Paiks are the descendants of Hindus who are anciently placed in the Khond country to maintain the influence of the Rajah, and to keep the frontier. They have nearly all mixed their blood with that of the Khonds, and have in a considerable degree acquired their manners, habits and feelings. They are distributed over the country in small stockades or “Ghorriah,” or in frontier posts called “Gumah.” They have adopted to a great extent the Khond superstition, but without forgetting the names of their Hindu Gods, or all the ideas connected with them. They receive no pay, but subsist on small tracts of land given to them by the Khonds. They take a leading part in the riot and festivity which accompany the ceremony of human sacrifice, but take no share of the flesh.

These two petty chiefs, and all the other Hill Rajahs of Orissa, worship, almost exclusively, under names and forms endlessly varied, the goddess Durga. It is acknowledged, that they nearly all offered human victims at her shrines, one, or at the farthest two, generations ago, and it is difficult to determine when those

nor Hindus, of whom the most important is the Dombango or Panwas, who are the chief instruments in kidnapping victims for sacrifice.\*

The relations between the Khonds and the zemindaries in which they were said to be respectively "included," he found

sanguinary rites were discontinued in each case, or if they have yet finally ceased. The Brahmans of the low country assert strongly, that no such practice is now thought of: the Boad Rajah admitted to me, that his father, and the immediate predecessors of all the neighbouring Zemindaries upon the Mahanudi had practised it. It was constantly performed by the father of the late Rajah of Goomsur at the shrine of Bagh Devi, at Koladah, and according to some servants of the family at one time by the latter himself. There were strong grounds for suspicion that the Moherry family offered a victim in 1836, in the Hill temple near Berhampore, where the rite was anciently observed by it to a great extent. Human sacrifices are still performed, according to universal belief, in Bustar, and in Jeypore, and in the adjoining Zemindaries to the West and the South to the Godavery, and they are certainly performed by the Brinjaries who trade between the Nagpore and Chotishghur countries and the coast. The few Purohits whom I have had opportunities of questioning closely, and who I had reason to believe spoke truth, after dilating upon the great temptation to celebrate the rite, have ended by admitting in some way its practice still, and generally in the form of a question as by asking "while the gateways of the temples are drenched with the gore of sheep and oxen, and the feast of Durga, who can tell whether some drops of more precious blood, to bring success to the designs of the great, may not be spilt within."

\* In No. IX. p. 17. will be found a full description of this peculiar class. The following additional statements from Captain Macpherson's report of April 1842, will tend still farther to illustrate their character and office —

"I have addressed the most careful enquiry to the subject of the provision of human victims for the Khond worship by the Dombango or Panwas, by their violent abduction, then theft, and their purchase in the low country and by the sale of their own offspring, with a view to ascertain the modes of perpetrating these acts and their exact character.

The Panwas, who are permanently resident upon the hills, associated with sacrificing tribes, participate fully in the religious ideas and feelings of the Khonds, and share their belief in the absolute necessity of the great rite. Pecuniary gain, and the desire to obtain the favour of the Khonds by whom they are protected, are amongst their chief immediate motives in procuring victims, as they are generally the only motives which they assign to strangers; but at the same time, I believe, that they are strongly influenced by the conviction, that, in making provision for the observance of the chief ordinance of their Gods, they perform an act of the highest religious merit.

Khonds, as well as Panwas, when in want, sell children as victims, very many Khonds did so after the disturbances in Goomsur, and the act is, I believe (the Panwas being inhabitants of the hills) as nearly identical in both races as any act springing from mixed motives can be in people the features of whose moral character are so strikingly discriminated.

So admirable and so important an act is the performance of a sacrifice held to be in some districts, that a Panwa, who is a rich landholder in the Khond tract of Cottuman in Kumed, has lately raised himself quite to the level of Khond society by offering a human victim at his own expense, at a feast to which all the Khonds and Panwas of the district were invited.

The strength and the diversity of feeling which exists on this subject even betwixt members of the same family is shewn by the following statement accidentally made to me, by an eye-witness — A Panwa, of a sacrificing district, happened to go a few months ago with some Khonds, to Cattingia in Bodoghoro, where the rite is abhorred. A relative whom he met there said to him — "So you have been making traffic of the blood of your offspring!" and spat in his face. The Khonds, said my informant, immediately pressed round, and most anxiously offered him every sort of consolation, saying "that buffalo of a man is ignorant that by the devotion of the life of your child to the gods all mankind have benefited, but those gods themselves will wipe that spittle from your face."

It is certain, not only that other Panwas, besides those who are permanently associated and identified with sacrificing Khond tribes, provide victims, but that these are most generally procured in the first instance, by Panwas of the low country of mixed religion. Hence the question of the degree in which religious feeling enters into the motives of these procurers, a question which is obviously of high importance in the application to them of penal laws, can be determined only by special inquiry in each case."



to be precisely the same as those already described\* as subsisting in Boad and Goomsur. The Benniah Khonds inhabiting, as in the north, the *lower ranges* of the Ghats and the adjacent tracts, were "distinguished solely by their partial adoption of the Hindu ideas, manners, and customs—the most advanced amongst them pressing against the impassable pales of Hindu civil and religious life." *The process of conversion was going on visibly.* Sections of tribes which are now Benniah were purely Maliah in their habits fifty years ago. And in the outer ranges of the hills, one member of a family was seen carefully affecting Hindu manners, while the rest adhered religiously to their primitive customs. To the Khond superstition which they retain in full they add much reverence for Kali or Durga. They have also adopted "the Hindu dress and mode of building, and speak the Uriya language. They abstain religiously from the cultivation of turmeric, the staple product of Maliah industry, and the most valuable crop of their soil." They have exchanged "the Khond for the Hindu plough." They use "milk and ghee which are abhorred by the Maliah Khonds; and they forego as barbarous the practice of dancing in which the latter delight." Such are the Benniah Khonds, "the result of the slow and difficult process of assimilation betwixt the primitive and civilized people." While the primitive race was found thus aspiring to approach and blend with the more civilized people, it was curious and interesting to note a union which had taken place, through plain motives at a single point, betwixt their superstitions. The Hindus, when they assumed the Khond soil in this quarter, *adopted the chief Khond Deity*, or rather duad of deities, as their Gram-Devata, or Tutelary God, under the name of *Khondini*; and Brahmans have ever since officiated with Khond priests at his shrine. His worship, like that of every other deity in this

\* See No. IX. page 26-28. As the subject is of practical importance, we may quote from the above mentioned Report —

"The relation of the Khond tribes to the zemindaries in which they are respectively included, was originally founded here, as, I believe, in all similar cases elsewhere, upon a single common want, and was accompanied by forms which marked the relative power and civilization of the parties. Mutual and aggrivated aggression, was its first condition whilst the Khonds, besides, generally assisted the Rajahs in their offensive wars. The Hindu chiefs were reminded of the origin of their authority by formal acts of investiture which were performed at their accession by the patriarch of the most important tribes, while the heads of the primitive race received from them, in return, not as vassals, but as inferiors in rank, and in civilization, the recognition of their ancient dignities, and such honorary appellation as they were pleased to bestow.

The Khonds made, also, certain offerings of produce which did not import any thing resembling feudal dependence; and the other chief public acts by which they manifested their attachment seem to have been, that of assembling at the Dusserah festival to eat the buffaloes offered in sacrifice at the Hindu capitals, and that of giving their aid to drag the cars at the feast of Jugemath, and, generally speaking, the relationship subsists between the same parties at the present day."

part of Orissa, became partially confused with that of Durga. But it is still discharged with regularity and pomp by this joint ministry.

As regarded the Maliah (Hill or Highland) Khonds of the regions visited, Captain Macpherson found, that they had the "*same general system of social life* as the tribes of Boad, Goomsur, and Duspallah." There was the same division into tribes and branches of tribes; and society was governed by Patriarchs and Councils, having the same public authority. There were similar rules of intercourse betwixt different tribes; while usages similar in spirit supplied the place of civil law. The customs relating to every form of property were nearly the same. The laws of hospitality were identical. The paternal authority was the same; and there was the same patriarchal system of family life. The Khonds of these tracts devoted themselves to agricultural industry as exclusively as those of the northern districts.

But with all these generic resemblances, it was found that, in several points of vital importance, the manners and domestic habits of some of these tribes, together with the details of individual life, and their ideas concerning the relation of God to man and the ritual of worship, were strikingly different, from those which prevailed, not only in the north, but in other directions all around. The chief points here adverted to, and which were of the nature of a new and grand discovery, namely, *the prevalence in certain districts of the practice of female infanticide, and the abstinence in others from the horrible ritual of human sacrifice*, have formerly been described.\*

It was gratifying to find the decision with which the non-sacrificing tribes felt, spoke and acted on the remarkable difference between themselves and the surrounding tribes. Captain Macpherson thus writes:—

"The non-sacrificing tribes expressed in the strongest language the grief and indignation with which they contemplated the impious and revolting worship which was in progress; and numerous incidents gave assurance of their sincerity.

The fields were strictly guarded by night and day, lest an enemy should desecrate the soil by introducing a shred of the flesh, while they avowed, it may be observed, their somewhat contradictory fears from such an act; first, and chiefly, lest the wrath of their greater deities should arise to their destruction, cursing their soil with barrenness, and denying them offspring; but secondly, lest some of their lesser Gods should acquire a taste for the dreadful food, and desire to be gratified with it in future.† For it was

\* See No. IX. p. 32-34, and p. 54.

† That this remark may indicate more of the philosophy of observation and experience than one might at first suppose, may appear from the following passage

believed that experience had proved the latter to be a well grounded fear. In a spot of jungle in Cattingia which was very valuable as the constant resort of wild animals for the sake of a salt which effloresces on its soil, some people of Guddapore, several years ago, buried a fragment of the flesh of a victim. From that time forth, no game has been killed there by the huntsmen of Cattingia, while those of Guddapore find it with unfailing certainty. These are believed still to supply the genus *loti* with the desired food.

The Khonds of the village of Mahringúde having been accidentally asked to dig some holes for the stakes of a grass shed in my camp, expressed their readiness to fell wood, or to render any other service, but declined to disturb in any way the surface of the earth at that particular time, the days immediately preceding the full moon in December, when it was being broken all around for the reception of the flesh of victims, and it may be observed that a Khond or a Hindu who has been present at a sacrifice would here run the risk of being put to death, were he to approach a non-sacrificing village within seven days after the ceremony; but after that time he is reckoned pure.

The sacrificing tribes of Guddapore, upon the other hand, were very where in a state of high exultation and excitement, engaged in performing, or in preparing to perform the great and vital rite, upon the observance of which they believed that their own well being, and that of all the world beside depended."

The non-sacrificing tribes, as might be expected from their avowed abhorrence of the impious rite, hoped and wished that Captain Macpherson would declare and enforce the final and absolute determination of Government respecting it—proffering, in that case, their active co-operation in the work. The sacrificing tribes, on the other hand, very naturally viewed the subject with very different feelings. From the circumstance that no decisive and comprehensive measures had been adopted with respect to it, while partial interference had taken place, one very general impression which prevailed, was, that the Government was indifferent to the sacrifice. Another equally prevalent impression was, that whether the Government were indifferent to it or not, it had no just right to interfere with it. And this opinion was supported on grounds which were held

in Taylor's Natural History of Society. Treating of the subject of cannibalism, the author observes, that "nothing is more certain than that a depraved and unnatural appetite, when once formed, has a tendency, not only to continue but to increase. This is notoriously the case with the dirt-eaters in the West Indies, and in a similar instance, which came within the author's knowledge. A young girl, about nine years of age, contracted a habit of chewing endars; she had indulged it for some time, before she was discovered, and then every possible effort was made to cure her of it. The utmost watchfulness failed, and she died a victim to her depraved appetite. A friend, whose name I am not at liberty to mention, has favoured me with notes of a conversation with a man, who under pressure of famine at sea, had eaten a part of one of his companions. He declared that the feeling of disgust disappeared at the second or third meal, and did not return during the five days that the crew were reduced to this horrid fare. He added, that after the lapse of many years, he never thought upon the subject without finding desire strangely mingled with loathing; and finally, that it was this instinctive feeling which rendered him most reluctant to allude to the subject."

to be perfectly unassailable in reason and justice. These grounds were the following:—that the rite had been practised from the beginning—that it had been sanctioned by the Rajahs—that it was essential to the existence of mankind in health and to the continuation of the species—that it was indispensable to the productive powers of nature by which men live—that it was necessary to the Gods for food—that its suppression by the Government would be as unjust as the abolition of the Hindu worship at Púrí (Jugernath) and that they (the Khonds) were willing to submit to a decree which should include with theirs, the worship of the Hindus and the Mussulmans—that the victims were the property of those who offered them, being bought with the fruits of their labour upon the soil—that the parents of the victims made them fully over to them through the procurers—and finally, that the Gods had positively ordained the rite.

In these circumstances, what course, with a view alike to immediate and ulterior objects, was best to be pursued? They could not be directly dealt with, on the score of allegiance, as subjects, since no such distinct relations had any where been established with the Khonds, but in the few Mutahs of Goomsur. They had no conception of any social relations except those which existed between the different groups of tribes, and betwixt these and the zemindaries. The British Government they regarded with very various, uncertain, and inconsistent feelings, amongst which vague apprehension or fear greatly predominated. Moreover, in the existing state of opinion and feeling, it did not appear that any real advantage could have arisen from temporarily preventing any of the sacrifices then in progress. Captain Macpherson, as the result of multiplied experience, painfully felt that the effects of interference on his part, casually and *en passant*, could have been but “to make a few sacrifices be deferred until the next full moon, or to make it necessary to replace one or two liberated victims;—while, in the mean time, confidential intercourse with all, probably all intercourse with the sacrificing population, would have ceased, and his immediate objects be defeated.”

The course, therefore, which these and other reasons as well as the spirit of his instructions, appeared to prescribe to him, was, in the first place, to attempt to communicate to these tribes the few elementary conceptions relative to the character and the general objects of the Government which must precede the establishment of any beneficial relations with them; and secondly, both to contradict the impression that the Government regarded the rite of human sacrifice with indifference, and to

repudiate the idea that consciousness of defective right on our part prevented us from adopting decisive measures for its suppression. To these general preparatory objects, accordingly, Captain Macpherson specially addressed himself; and his own account of the result is given in these terms:—

“When it was asserted, that the designs of government towards the hill people were those of paternal benevolence alone, not, as was presumed, of hostility; that the existence of the rite of human sacrifice was a subject of the deepest concern to the government, and of horror to all mankind beyond these hills; and that the right of the government to suppress it, as a rite which all mankind concur in condemning, not as erroneous, but as impious and unlawful, did not admit of a question,—if when these assertions were made and argued upon, it cannot be said, that conviction was produced in the discerning minds of the Khond patriarchs, their previous judgments were certainly modified, or suspended, and confidence and good will, and the inclination to believe that benefit alone was intended towards them, and the disposition to yield obedience in return were engendered; while the government was committed to no specific course of procedure.”

In this career, however, so full of promise, Captain Macpherson was suddenly arrested, by the fearful distemper already alluded to—which broke out in his camp with all the violence and rapidity of a general epidemic. But had no fruit resulted from the mission, beyond the discovery, for the first time, of certain Khond tribes who practised infanticide to an almost unparalleled extent, and of certain other tribes who did not practise the atrocious Meriah sacrifice,—such discovery would have been an ample reward for all its labours and sufferings. With reference to the observance and non-observance of these abhorrent rites, the agent was now enabled, with some degree of precision, to mark out and divide the country into five clearly discriminated tracts, as follows:—

“1st. The tract of hill country which is included in the zemindaries of Goomsur, Boad, and Duspallah, the area of which may be estimated at 2,500 square miles. Its inhabitants, with the exception of a few tribes on the southern boundary of Goomsur, offer human sacrifices, but do not practice female infanticide.

2nd. A stripe of country connected with the zemindaries of Coradah or Souradah, and about 400 square miles in superficial extent, in which neither the rite of human sacrifice, nor female infanticide is practised.

3rd. An irregular tract included in the zemindaries of Souradah, Coradah, Bodoghorro and Chinna Kimedy, the area of which may be estimated at 2,000 square miles. There the Khonds do not offer human sacrifices, but the practice of female infanticide is universal.

4th. A portion of country in the zemindary of Bodoghorro, of which the extent may be 400 square miles. In it neither the practice of human sacrifice, nor that of infanticide exists.

5th. The remaining portion of the region of the Ghats which is included in the Ganjam district, and which runs from near the south western frontier of Goomsur in Latitude 20°, to beyond the 19th parallel. Its area is between 2,000 and 3,000 square miles, and it is peopled with Khonds and Sourahs,

both of whom sacrifice human victims, but do not, it is believed, destroy their female offspring."

Captain Macpherson was now in circumstances to submit, or rather, in an improved and more authoritative form, to re-submit for the consideration of Government, the definite plan of operations for the gradual suppression of the Meriah sacrifice, which he had suggested in his report of June 1841. The views and principles then expounded were only for the most part confirmed by later observation and more extended experience; while some of them—such as, the formation of a Khond local military corps, like the Bheel corps, the opening of lines of communication, and the establishment of fairs which should tend to draw the hill tribes from their fastnesses into friendly and familiar contact with other men, and to enlarge the circle of their social wants—were virtually in accordance with those which had been already indicated by the Government.

At one time it was our intention to satisfy ourselves with a very brief statement of the leading views of the agent, and then to shew in detail how they were practically exemplified. Since, however, latterly, a series of unforeseen and untoward events—the graver portion of them wholly unconnected, except by the casual coincidence of time and place, with the agent's more specific operations—has not unnaturally led to the soundness of his general policy and plans being called in question, we deem it an act of justice to him and his work, to enter into a fuller exposition of both than we otherwise had intended, or would have deemed at all necessary.

And here, at the outset, it is important to keep in mind that the views of Captain Macpherson have not originated as of yesterday. These views, whatever may be thought of them now, were formed, after a careful survey of the physical, social, and religious habitudes of the Khond races, as far back as *ten* years ago. Early in 1841, they were submitted in a matured and well digested form, to the Madras Government, and subsequently to the Supreme Government of India. And so sensible, so rational, so bottomed on experience, and so promising as regarded the probability of their realization, did these views appear in their grand and prominent features, that both the Supreme and the Subordinate Governments were induced to receive them with well merited favour. The consequence was, as already stated, that Captain Macpherson, on the sole ground of his own personal merits and the feasibility of his plans, was appointed the principal agent for the Khonds—his predecessors in the agency being thereby virtually superseded. And as in a former number (XII) we endeavoured to do ample justice to

these predecessors in the work—indeed ampler justice than we have any reason to suppose had ever been publicly rendered to them before—we shall now pursue the same impartial course with reference to the successor. In doing so, we shall make him speak very much for himself, and furnish our readers with the means of judging very much for themselves.

In his report of 1841, Captain Macpherson, after furnishing those deeply interesting details respecting the mountain Khonds, of which a faithful epitome has already been supplied in No. IX. of this work, proceeds to a consideration of the practical measures to be adopted towards them—both as a question of policy and with reference to their religion. In order to enable his readers clearly to apprehend the real adaptation of the suggested measures to the peculiarities of the case, our author very properly sets out by referring in a general and summary way to the more material facts in the history of the Khonds. And whoever will be at the pains of looking back to the *first* article in the *ninth* number of this work, can be at no loss to understand the import and appreciate the value of the following condensed statement:—

“ These tribes have existed from a period of the remotest antiquity, as they are seen at present, nearly isolated by manners, language, and prejudices of race from the surrounding Hindu population; while they have been until recently completely cut off by the interposed Zemindary domains, from all contact, from all relations with the successive Governments which these have acknowledged. To these Zemindaries they have been attached, individually, and in loosely coherent groups, as independent but subordinate allies.

The barrier by which they were thus separated from our immediate provinces was suddenly removed by our assumption of the Zemindary of Goomsur for arrears of tribute, which was followed by the rebellion of its Rajah, in the end of the year 1835.

That Chief retired before a force which advanced to apprehend him, and to take possession of his estates, into the Khond districts above the Ghats, which were most anciently attached to Goomsur, and there he soon after died.

A small body of troops then penetrated the great mountain chain, for the first time, to endeavour to obtain possession of his heir, of the remaining members of his family, and of his treasures.

The region into which it advanced was entirely unexplored. Of the Khond people we knew nothing save the name. We were ignorant of the nature of the connections, which subsisted between them and Goomsur, or the neighbouring Zemindaries. We knew nothing of their social organization, of their feelings towards the late Zemindar, or towards ourselves, of their numbers, their language, or their manners: while they could have formed no idea of the character of our power, of our views, of any of our objects.

A part of the mountain population was already combined against us, without any suspicion on our part, in anticipation of the course which we pursued; and was arrayed in the name of every authority which they

regarded as legitimate, confirmed by the most binding religious solemnities, and in the sacred name of hospitality.

The dying Rajah had obtained a pledge from several of the tribes of the plateau, given before their great divinity, to prevent in any event the capture of his family which had suffered treatment in the last degree dishonorable at our hands upon a former occasion when taken by Colonel Fletcher's force\* in 1815.

The disposition of the Khonds, at first considered amicable, was observed to tend towards hostility, upon the apprehension of these distinguished guests; but the existence of their pledge first appeared from a bold, starting, and partially successful attempt to fulfil it. They rose and overwhelmed a small detachment which (contrary to the intentions of the Commissioner) was employed to escort a portion of the family of the Zemindar by a difficult pass from the plateau to the low country, putting to death, to prevent their dishonour, seven ladies of his Zenana.

The tribes which were chiefly implicated in this movement, immediately felt the weight of our vengeance. But the extreme sickling of the advancing season soon after compelled us to suspend active operations.

At the end of the rains, a large and nearly fresh force of every arm was assembled to compel the unconditional submission of the Khonds, involving the surrender of their Patriarchs, and of some officers of the late Rajah, who had taken refuge with them, and a promise for the future, to yield to us the obedience and the services which had been given to Goomsur, that obedience being supposed to comprehend submission to the authority of a "Bisaye" of our appointment.

No opposition was offered to our advance. But the Khonds refused with the most admirable constancy, to bring their natural heads, or their guests, bound to our scaffolds. The country was laid utterly desolate. The population was unceasingly pursued by the troops. At the end of about two months, the Rajah's Hindu officers were given up for a reward in the Maliahs of *Boad*. The Patriarchs of the offending district of Goomsur were betrayed one by one through the Naiks of the border, and the Hindu inhabitants of the hills; with the exception of the chief Dora Bisaye who, favored or feared by all, escaped to the Patna Zemindary, from whence, having obtained the promise of his life from the Commissioner for Cuttack, he sometime after came in.

The Khond Chiefs of Baramutah were condemned and executed almost without exception.

Sunnuds, of the exact terms of which I am not informed, were given generally to their supposed heirs.

Sam Bisaye, the Hindu employé of the Khonds of Hodzoghoro, a district recently connected with *Boad*, was invested with the authority supposed to belong to the office of the chief Bisaye of the Rajah of Goomsur, and with a title, in the room of the federal Khond Patriarch Dora Bisaye.

By Act XXIV. of 1839, the Zemindaries of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts, with the territories of the connected tribes, were removed from the operation of the rules of the administration of Civil and Criminal Justice and for the collection of Revenue, and placed under Agents instructed by the Government of Fort St. George.

These Agents administer the established Criminal law under slightly modified rules of procedure. They administer the Civil law and the Revenue law modified in like manner, with these principal exceptions that questions

\* Col. F. divided with his officers the ladies and treasures of the Rajah, and was dismissed by a Court Martial in 1817.



of disputed succession to Zemindary Estates, and to lands held on any species of tenure analogous to the feudal, are not determined judicially, but decided by the Government upon the report of the Agent, as questions of policy, and in cases in which landed property, held on these tenures, and of considerable value, is involved, an appeal lies from the decision of the Agent, not to the Court of Sudder Adalat, but to the Governor in Council.

Our authority is acknowledged, in any degree, in the Khond districts of Goomsur alone, which our arms reduced. And no permanent advantage has attended the efforts which have been made towards the abolition of the rite of human sacrifices.

Thus it appears, that we first met the mountain Khonds of Goomsur as the ancient and religiously pledged allies, and at the same time the hosts of its rebel Zemindar, with whom from their situation, and from our policy, they had necessarily exclusive relations. A portion of them, in profound ignorance of the character, and the objects of our power, blindly offered resistance, and suffered the extreme penalties of rebellion.

We have heretofore necessarily met the Hill tribes of Orissa every where else in the same character alone, viz. as allies of Zemindars in revolt. Thus did we first encounter the Khonds, north of the Mahanudi, arrayed on the side of the rebel Rajah of Khúrdah, and under circumstances nearly analogous, as I am informed, occurred our first collision with the Koles, over whom we have since established a direct influence, and thus did we meet the still undescribed Sourah race leagued more or less permanently with the rebel Chiefs of Vizianagram, Golcondah, Kuneddy and Palcondah.

And for the future, there exists the same risk of collision with other sections of the hill population, as the allies of numerous Chiefs of extensive and little known domains in the districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam, besides the risk which may arise from our being in immediate contact with them."

After this brief but lucid historical epitome, Captain Macpherson proceeds to enquire, "*What are our leading objects with respect to these tribes?*"

These leading necessary objects he conceives to be the following:—1st, "*as a matter of policy to induce their acknowledgement of our supremacy, and to establish relations with them as subjects which shall supersede their exclusive relations with the Zemindaries as allies.*"—2ndly, "*with reference to their religion, to effect the abolition of the rite of human sacrifices.*"

The next question, therefore, is, "How, or in what way are these objects to be successfully accomplished?" Here Captain Macpherson most emphatically replies that the first and most indispensable condition of their accomplishment is—PEACE. Nay more, he goes on briefly but conclusively to shew, why it must be so.

The direct and more immediate object contemplated by our Government, was, *the abolition of the rite of human sacrifice in the religious ceremonial of the Khond race.* Now that rite, as fully shewn by Captain Macpherson, is "an act of worship which is of the very essence—the vital fact of their superstition—forming, in one point of view, its very sum." It is a rite,

moreover, which is sanctioned—and this is particularly worthy of being noted—by “the practice of the only other religion, and by the authority of the only civilization heretofore known to them,” viz. the religion and civilization of the Hindus. It had also been well established, that the “moral character of the Khonds is eminently distinguished by the power to resist coercion.” Then, again, as regards the territory occupied by them, Captain Macpherson remarks, that it is connected chiefly with Zemindars, “over whom our authority has never been practically established”—that it “extends over a space of 300 miles in length, and from 50 to 100 in breadth, between the Mahanudi and the Godavery, and is included partly in the Madras, partly in the Bengal territories, and partly within the limits of Nagpore”—that it is a wild inaccessible region, “composed of forest, swamp, and mountain fastnesses, interspersed with open and productive vallies”—and that, from its deadly climate, it is “habitable with safety by strangers, only during a few months in the year.” Farther, Captain Macpherson, with reference to our power of repeating such a contest as that of the late Goomsur war, pointedly refers to the fact, that “the force which was assembled there, in the second year, amounted to nearly one-half of the Madras troops of the line, which—the army being then distributed at its usual stations—were available for foreign service; and that the sufferings of those troops from sickness, during the first year, was greater than has been recorded of any other force whatsoever.” And yet, it was only a mere section of the Khond tribes against which the war was waged—only a mere fragment of their territory that was hostilely invaded!

Altogether Captain Macpherson’s conclusion, *from the first*, was, that “*the character of the Khonds and the physical nature of their country combined to preclude any attempt to effect the suppression of their great religious rite, by force, as a primary measure.*” \* •

The question, then, at once arose, “through what means, exclusive of the agency of force as a primary measure, may we acquire the direct authority over such a population, which is necessary to our purpose, or the accomplishment of the desired change in their religious ceremonial?”

“If at all practicable, the first and most important step

\* But while, for the reasons above stated, we were precluded from the use of force as a primary measure, Captain Macpherson would have it to be carefully kept sight of as, in special cases, an ultimate and secondary means. “If,” says he, “we should gain the mass, the great majority of any tribe, it may be highly advantageous, and quite possible, to coerce individuals.”

would seem to be, to secure the establishment of our supremacy or sovereignty over them, and consequently, of distinct relations with them as subjects.

But, force being excluded, how is the establishment of our direct sovereignty to be secured, any more than the direct abolition of the Meriah sacrifice? To this Captain Macpherson in substance replies,—by conferring appreciable and valued benefits; by ministering to some of their leading social wants; by acting on some of the leading tendencies of their character. Now, by watching narrowly the workings and conditions of the social system among the Khonds—the spirit of their manners and habits of feeling—Captain Macpherson was led to conclude that *Justice* was the greatest of their wants,—the want, too, the regulated supply of which would be universally hailed as the greatest boon. He, therefore, unhesitatingly proposed, that, among the measures, by the combination and gradual development of which, we might hope to acquire a direct authority or supremacy over the Khonds, the offer and attempt to administer justice, by arbitrating, not merely between individuals of the same tribe, but also between their several tribes and authorities, should occupy the foremost place.

This being the master key to the system of measures originally suggested by Captain Macpherson—approved of and adopted, in principle, by the Supreme Government—and subsequently acted on, in practice, by their author,—we may now furnish his own exposition of them:—

“ It is obvious, that the voluntary and permanent acknowledgment of our sovereignty by these rude societies, must depend upon our ability to discharge beneficially and acceptably towards them, some portion of the duties of sovereignty—that they will spontaneously yield allegiance to us, only in return for advantages which are suited in form, and in spirit, to their leading ideas and their social wants.

*Now it appears distinctly that the great social defect for these clusters of tribes—a defect which they have in some quarters feebly attempted to remedy,—is, the want of a supreme controlling authority,—of a power able to arbitrate between different tribes, and between tribes and the zemindaries; and this want, I think, we may, by direct and by indirect means, to a certain extent, supply—claiming and receiving allegiance in return—and laying the foundation of a general ascendancy.*

*The Patriarchal authority suffices for the maintenance of order and security within each tribe. But, without, all is discord and confusion. Between Tribes, are every where seen disagreements, conflicts, feuds without end and without remedy, and the zemindars are at once the allies and the chief enemies of each Khond Society.*

*Justice between independent societies is, in a word, the great want which is deeply felt by all; and I found the expectation that those tribes may be brought to receive it at our hands, to the extent which naturally gives rise to*

*some of the sentiments of allegiance, upon the fact of the general predominance of pacific feelings and interests amongst those which are known to me ; upon their having, in Boad, besides instituting the office of federal chief—a germ of chief Magistracy—called in a set of Hindu functionaries, one of whose chief duties is the settlement of feuds ; upon the consideration that rude men are universally prone to yield a high degree of moral obedience to civilized power when judiciously and benevolently exhibited ; and finally upon this fact in my limited experience—that the heads of the few tribes whose confidence I had an opportunity to gain, acting instinctively from the necessity of their situation, uniformly desired to make me the arbiter of those differences with other tribes, with which there existed no native authority competent to deal.*

What we may require of these societies, on the other hand, as subjects, is, in my opinion, simply this—That a Tribe shall in no case aid any other party against us, while it shall yield us active assistance when we can engage to discharge towards it the reciprocal duty of protection—and this obligation of defence it is plain that we must, until specially prepared for it, be very cautious in undertaking, lest we incur the risk of evils greater than those which we would remove ; viz. the risk of those which attend war in the region of the Ghats.

The only forms of public authority of which the Khonds have any idea are their own patriarchal form, and the tyrannies of the zemindars. And our authority, to be accepted, must bear, unequivocally, both the external aspect and the spirit of the former, as the tribes of North America first submitted to the Sovereign of England only as their Great Father.

It is plain, that while our supremacy should be acknowledged by significant forms distinct from those by which the rank of the zemindars has been hitherto recognized, we should carefully avoid the imposition of any onerous conditions, or marked badges of vassalage, upon a people in the last degree jealous both of the form and the substance of liberty."

By "*allegiance*," in the foregoing extract, Captain Macpherson tells us that among tribes, whose conceptions of the rights and duties of separate societies are so loose and inadequate, he must, in the first instance, be understood to mean "vaguely and generally a sense of deference to our power and our civilization, combined with feelings of attachment arising from the experience or from the expectation of the beneficial exercise of the former." And in approaching the Khonds to communicate new ideas of this or of any other class, care ought to be taken that it be "through their patriarchal heads alone." How he proposed this to be done, and what other subsidiary or auxiliary measures might or ought to be employed, may be gathered from the following statement :—

"Our first object must therefore be to win those heads to our purpose, and this is to be accomplished—1st, through the personal influence of the Agent of Government—2ndly, by addressing to them individually, every form of direct and indirect inducement which their character and situation indicate as likely to prevail.

To establish personal influence, I believe that there is but one mode of procedure. The Agent must pitch his tent with each tribe until he is regarded by its heads as their best friend, until they are fully assured of

his perfect knowledge of its situation, and of his sympathy with it. The only unequivocal proof of their confidence being their distinct and fixed desire to make him the arbiter of their most important interests, with which their own institutions are too weak to deal, and as before observed, so far as my limited observations go, the tendency to invest him with this character, when the condition of personal confidence is fulfilled, is universal.

The first foundations of the general authority which we seek to build up are to be laid through a wise exercise of the power which may thus be conceded.

As to direct inducements to subservience to our views, there fortunately exists one object of desire to the Khonds, through which, in some situations at least, the heads of society may be very powerfully swayed.

Every Khond has a passionate desire to possess land; and it were fortunate if the tribes of the Eastern face of the Ghats could be won by the grant of all the nearly valueless jungle tracts of Goomsur and Souradah, and if those upon the Mahanudi could be gained by the similar wastes of Boad and Duspallah.

Had each chief Patriarch of the Goomsur Maliahs, for example, a home in the low country where he might occasionally reside without being permanently separated from his tribe, he himself, his family and his dependants would acquire new ideas, new tastes, new wants; would become familiar with Hindu society and accustomed to easy intercourse with the officers of Government; would be brought immediately within the sphere of any influences which we chose to address to them,—ultimately, perhaps direct education might be brought to bear upon them.

The risk to be guarded against would be, lest by conferring upon these Patriarchs separate and independent property, in a situation where they must acquire new manners, and become involved in new interests, they should become estranged from and should lose influence over their tribes.

Gifts of money, cattle, &c. are the remaining most obvious incentives to co-operation, or rewards of exertion, which may be presented to the Patriarchs,—and conveniently given to them in return for their yearly offerings of homage, or for those made upon their accession to office.

A very considerable degree of influence may be exerted through dresses of honor, titles, and honorary privileges; any accidental epithet, a complimentary nick-name given by "the Rajah" becomes hereditary, and is as tenaciously adhered to by a Khond family as a title of nobility is in Europe.

Lastly, I regard the employment of the Khonds in public services suited to the peculiarities of their character and situation, as amongst the most important means at our disposal for the accomplishment of the objects proposed.

The formation of a Bheel Corps, which was gradually subjected to discipline in the Bombay presidency, has been found to change entirely the character of the portion of that people to which the measure was applied."

Direct authority over any of the tribes having once been acquired, through any or all of the means now indicated, Captain Macpherson proposes that that general authority should be mildly and gently exercised in inducing them to abandon the abhorrent rite of human sacrifice. In approaching this more specific and arduous subject, he strongly urges that our first endeavour should be to obtain influence over the priesthood, by the systematic use of every means which the minutest

knowledge of their habits and situation may suggest—it being carefully observed that the Patriarchs also are always to be regarded as virtually, if not professionally, priests. As a subordinate but essential object, he also points strongly to the necessity of obtaining the cordial co-operation of the zemindars, connected with the Khond population. Their direct influence is generally great with some particular tribe or section, and they alone can afford the minute local information respecting persons and things which is necessary to the formation of any plan of operations. They may themselves be powerfully acted on by honorary gifts and privileges, or by the prospect of a remission of tribute in the event of success. In order, however, to the effectual carrying out of any systematic course of operations, Captain Macpherson strongly insisted on the necessity of including in one plan, directed by a single agent, the whole of the Khond tribes, south of the Mahanudi, whether in the Bengal or the Madras territories. On this important point, his own statements are clear and conclusive:—

“The tribes connected with Boad, Duspallah, and Goomsur, for example, of which the two former zemindaries are in the Cuttack, the latter in the Ganjam district, may be said, in some sort, to belong to one social system. They are all linked together in some degree, by ties of interest or of feeling; and any difference in their treatment would preclude all chance of their acquiring distinct ideas of the character, or confidence in the objects of our power. While experience proves, what their character would lead us to anticipate, that where concessions are to be made, they will far more readily embrace a common than a various lot. These views were strongly impressed upon my mind, upon the following occasion.

The Rajah of Boad was required in 1836 by the authorities on the South Western Frontier of Bengal, but in terms which are not precisely known to me, to announce to the tribes of his zemindary the abhorrence of the Government of the Meriah rite, and to exert his authority for its suppression.

He represented to me, then at Boad, that I knew it was in his power to yield even a formal obedience to this order in the case of many of the Khond districts, only if his messengers were allowed the protection of my camp; and that protection I very willingly gave, as the occasion promised to afford me valuable opportunities of observation.

A considerable degree of alarm followed the receipt above the Ghats of the communications of the Rajah, which were, I believe, made in very vague and various terms to the different Chief Patriarchs.

Councils met every where. The whole population was deeply agitated, and all friendly intercourse with me ceased. In the remote and sequestered district of Ruttabari it was believed that I was come to enforce compliance with the mandates, and on arriving there, I found that active preparations had commenced for resistance. Very serious results threatened, when the opportune appearance upon the scene of the great Khonro of Boad, whose friendship I had previously made, removed every difficulty.

The Khonds could arrive at no distinct conclusion respecting the real

meaning of the intimations which were thus made to them; and, under all the circumstances, it was exceedingly difficult for me to give any explanation of them. But the tribes having made out that no coercive measures were then intended, and that I, at least, was there with views purely friendly, they gradually became at ease, and laid their minds bare to me on the whole subject.

In the end, they consented, without much difficulty, to deliver up their victim-children to me, as other tribes have done to other officers; *and not as signifying the slightest intention to relinquish the rite, but as a peace offering, or a mark of deference for our power.* But to this surrender they assented, *only on the express condition that the tribes of Goomsur should also be required to give up their victims.* The Meriah children they looked upon merely as property of a certain value, and as victims which could be immediately replaced. Their real and deepest anxiety was, lest they should even seem to submit to a necessity which was not acknowledged by all the tribes within their social sphere.

As the authorities on either side of the Mahanudi did not on this occasion act in concert, the necessary requisition could not at the moment be effectually made in Goomsur for the fulfilment of the condition stipulated, and so the victims were not liberated; and the tribes were left bewildered between the apparently discrepant councils of the two Governments.

I may remark here what I should have supposed to be self-evident, but for much proof to the contrary, that nothing can be effected, in any case, either by the simple liberation of victims which can be replaced; or by the prevention of sacrifices at any particular time, or in any single district, when they can be performed, at some sacrifice of convenience, elsewhere, and at another season. Had these victims in the Boad Máliah been liberated, I was afterwards distinctly informed that a larger number must have suffered in their stead.

I venture, then, to express with some confidence the opinion, that the same general measures, conducted by the same agency, should embrace the whole of the mountain Khond population South of the Mahanudi, whether included in the Madras or in the Bengal presidency.

Co-operation must also, without doubt, be required on the part of the Government of Nagpore."

From the preceding statements we briefly and summarily deduce the following conclusions, as exhibiting the leading or salient points in Captain Macpherson's proposed plan of operations for the abolition of the Meriah sacrifice. Coercion, as a primary measure, is utterly to be repudiated; as demonstrably impracticable. And yet, in order to attempt the object with any hope of ultimate success, it is indispensable to acquire an influence or authority over the people, which may eventually amount to 'a distinctly recognized supremacy or sovereignty. The gradual establishment of this paramount authority is to be expected from the steady, uniform and systematic prosecution of various peaceful and conciliatory measures of an acknowledged beneficial character; and more especially, and above all, *the administration of justice in accordance with the spirit and forms of Khond institutions*, not only among contending individuals, but also between hostile

and conflicting tribes. The administration of such justice, on approved principles of equity, not according to the forms of British but Khond usages, must be entrusted to a single agent, with exclusive jurisdiction over all the Khond tribes. And lastly, the varied and accumulated influence thus acquired is to be brought to bear, with a gentle but steady and augmenting pressure on the abolition of the Meriah sacrifice. Or, to state the whole subject still more compendiously:—administer justice as a means towards the acquisition of the needful authority; and then employ this authority as a means towards the extirpation of the odious rite.

As to the efficacy of the measures thus indicated by him, Captain Macpherson ventured to express “the strictly conditional opinion, that the project of success appeared to him to be such as to authorize a systematic attempt to attain it,”—that a “long, laborious and fortunate course of exertion might ultimately achieve the desired purpose, which has rarely been surpassed in difficulty and delicacy”—and that, in his belief, “such exertion, to whatever extent it should proceed, would be productive of beneficial effects alone.”

To many, all this may seem abundantly plain and palpable—yea, so plain and palpable as to excite their wonder why it should be thought to need so much elaborate elucidation, or be deemed worthy of challenging so much eclat for the author. Such a cool, off-hand way of dealing with the merits of the subject need not much surprise us. Thus has it always been with the successful discoverers or propounders of any principle or system of scientific grandeur, political importance, or economic value. What more plain than the fact of the earth’s motion round the sun when once established by Copernicus; or that of universal gravitation, when once demonstrated by Newton; or that of the advantageousness of free trade, in things material, when once elucidated by Adam Smith; or that of the utter inadequacy of the free trade principle, in things intellectual and spiritual, when set forth with the glowing eloquence of Chalmers! Dark, or obscure, or but faintly discerned, or perhaps not discerned at all, before discovery has unfolded them, or demonstration has established them, some of the mightiest principles that regulate the operations, whether of the physical or moral universe, may, subsequent to discovery or demonstration, appear so plain and palpable, as to excite no wonder, except, perhaps, the wonder that they were not always recognized and acted on. Or, as an old writer has quaintly expressed it, “Nobody will give any body the credit of first discovering what every body might have found



out at any time." Now to this general category of useful discovery we have no hesitation in referring the administration of justice principle, *in the very peculiar use and application of it*, so distinctly pointed out and expounded by Captain Macpherson—leaving every one to make whatever deductions, abatements, or additions he pleases, on the score of relative magnitude and importance.

What! it may here be asked, had no one before spoken of or proposed to deal out justice to any of the Khond tribes? Doubtless, in the nature of things, cases must have arisen that would lead to something being said about justice; others must have casually arisen that would lead to actual interposition in the way of arbitration with a view to equitable adjustment; and in the case of the Goomsur Zemindary, which had been formally annexed to the British dominions, instances of outrage and other violations of law would occur, calling for the interference of the authorities, in the same way as in the case of out-breaks, disturbances, or violences, among any other class of actual subjects. But all this does not amount to, does not approximate, does not even come within sight of, the specific use and application of the peculiar scheme of justice propounded by Captain Macpherson. Because of certain casual guesses, certain coincidences in expression, and certain incidental vague allusions in the writings of the ancient Greeks, it has been alleged, and a man of learning like Dutens could even write "an erudite but singularly erroneous book to prove" that they had anticipated "the greatest scientific discoveries of modern times." For example, it has been argued that "Empedocles, Democritus, Pythagoras and Plato were perfectly acquainted with the doctrine of gravitation; and, by dint of forced translations, something coincident in expression with the Newtonian theory is certainly elicited." But, as has been unanswerably replied, "Newton's incomparable discovery was not a *vague guess*; it was a positive demonstration. He did not simply assert the fact of gravitation, he discovered the *laws* of its action." Paley, in speaking of the clear, unhesitating, emphatic style in which the doctrine of the soul's immortality is announced in scripture, as compared with the doubts, conjectures, and perplexed inquiries of the heathen, thus proceeds:—"it is idle to say that a future state had been discovered already:—it had been discovered as the Copernican system was;—it was one guess among many. He alone discovers, who proves."

So, in the *spirit* of these remarks, and without any intended or implied comparison as to the relative importance of the

different subjects would we also say, with reference to the claims of Captain Macpherson and his predecessors, as regards the *grand central principle* of his proposed scheme for the abolition of human sacrifice among the Khonds. That principle, as expounded by him—seized with a firm, steady and comprehensive grasp—deduced as an inevitable corollary from observed facts and shewn to be at once applicable and potent,—does not appear, so far as we can learn, to have been even so much as casually or hypothetically hinted at, or incidentally announced, or asserted in the passing form of a probable guess, by any that preceded him in the work. The Hon'ble Mr. Russel, in the second of his admirable Reports,\* distinctly declared, that “it had been hitherto our policy to take no part in the internal broils of the hill Zemindars and their subjects, who have been left to settle their differences in their own way.” And amid the valuable suggestions which he offers, there is none recommendatory of a change of such policy. Lieut. Hill, in his able Report of the 2nd July, 1838,—when drawing the attention of Government to the very deplorable state to which the Kalahundy country was reduced, chiefly by civil dissensions and quarrels among the members of the Ruling family,—states, that, in his repeated interviews with the individuals between whom these unfortunate quarrels existed, both parties “earnestly entreated that their claims might be decided by an *European* authority; and both professed their willingness to give *security*, for abiding by that decision in good faith.”† But this is the statement of an isolated fact which is connected with no general conclusion, still less with any scheme or proposal for the extinction of sanguinary rites among the Khonds. Major Campbell, in his capacity as head assistant to the Governor's Agent in Goomsur, was often called on to decide cases in which Khonds were concerned who had become British subjects by the annexation of such portion of their territory as was included in the Goomsur Zemindary.—But we find no trace of his deducing from these decisions

\* Dated, 11th May, 1837.

† It must, however, be a *bond fide* European, and one, too, armed with discretionary authority to decide *in equity* and without the formalities of a Law Court. Mr. Hill gives a case which, by contrast, serves to illustrate this point. The European authorities having left Ryepore, the younger brother of the Rajah lodged a complaint against him with the Subah. Both parties were summoned to appear before him, and both appeared in Kachery. The younger brother having stated his case, the Rajah was called on to reply. He spoke indignantly at the insult which had been offered to him in being thus cited like a common criminal to appear in Kachery to answer the complaint of a younger brother, and refused to give any reply to the statement made; but retiring from the Subah's presence to his residence in Brenore, he shot himself with a pistol!

any principle which might be turned to account in the formation of a Meriah-abolition scheme. Even in one of the very last of his excellent and statesman-like minutes on the subject, Lord Elphinstone does not venture farther than to say, that, "as our intercourse became more frequent, it would hardly be possible for us to avoid taking an interest in the political relations of the chiefs towards each other, and towards the Hill tribes who inhabit the neighbouring country, but who hardly acknowledge their power." How far short this dim expectation of an ultimate contingency, that might lead to our "taking an interest in the political relations of the chiefs towards each other, &c." comes of the substance and form of Captain Macpherson's proposition, is too transparently obvious to need any illustrative remark.

It remains, then, that to Captain Macpherson we must award the indisputable merit of a perfect originality in his conception of the governing principle of a plan for the extirpation of human sacrifices among the Khonds. The application of force is out of the question. But influence, gradually verging into supremacy, must be acquired. This can only be expected in the way of an equivalent for substantial benefits conferred. As experience and observation prove that, of all social wants, *the want of justice* is actually felt to be *the greatest*, this inestimable boon, in conjunction with other subsidiary favours, ought to be conferred through the instrumentality of an agent, bearing the credentials of THE *Sirkar*, or Supreme Government of India—an agent entrusted with exclusive jurisdiction over the whole of the Khond tribes, and neighbouring Zemindars, with reference to all points involved in their complicated Khond relationships—an agent, moreover, deeply conversant with the spirit and usages of Khond institutions, and able to administer substantial justice in forms not unsuited to Khond ideas, not unintelligible to Khond comprehension, and not violently and needlessly contradictory to Khond habits and customs. And, finally, let the paramount influence which such an agent would be sure to acquire over a rude and barbarous, but, in many respects, simple and unsophisticated race, as their acknowledged greatest benefactor, be brought to bear with gentle but irresistible energy on the abandonment of the most abhorrent, ~~but~~ demonstrably the most gratuitously useless of all their religious rites.

Captain Macpherson's views were founded on a personal observation of the social and religious characteristics of the Khonds. They were wrought out by himself as the result of independent

research and actual experience. They are on this account the more creditable to their author, and intrinsically the more valuable. They may also be well regarded as eminently philosophical—admirably accordant with the conclusions of the speculative or discursive faculty, as well as the authentic records of past history.

That man is formed to be a social being is a truism. In him the principle of sociality is instinctive. This principle is first developed in the domestic union. It is next extended and manifests itself in the varied family relationships. Of these the source and nourisher is mutual affection. But whenever the social principle, as has been well observed, “extends beyond the family, as it naturally tends to do, it develops a new idea—that of *justice*, or securing to every person his individual right. Man does not create the relation of right, it comes into existence at the same instant with society.” And as society, whether more or less perfectly organized, is founded on right, it follows that “the upholding and enforcing that right,” must be one great object of society—an object of increasing interest and importance, at every progressive stage towards the highest summit of civilization. Now, it must be seen, by referring to the IXth No. of this work, that the Khonds are not loose, scattered, isolated, wandering savages—that, though unhappily possessing many barbarous practices, they yet retain many primitive ideas, with a loosely coherent form of organized society, framed after the ancient patriarchal model. To the maintenance of this hereditary form, to which they are passionately attached, in any adequate degree, the enforcement of right or, more generally, the administration of justice, is indispensable. But the provision for securing this earnestly desiderated end, is one of the most defective and incommensurate parts of all their institutions. Hence their keen appreciation of the value of such a boon, if judiciously conferred, and the boundlessness of the resulting gratitude towards the party which might be instrumental in conferring it. And hence, too, the extent and intensity of the influence for good, which such a benefactor might legitimately exercise over them.

The records of history, both ancient and modern, will furnish numberless examples of the keenness with which tribes, not sunk into utter savagism, can appreciate the value and importance of justice, and the eagerness with which they can sue for it, from whatever quarter it may reasonably be expected to be obtained. Looking to modern times, we are informed by Mr. Kolff, that, in his recent examination of the Indian

Archipelago, he “found the islanders invariably engaged in war, and, conscious of the mutual sufferings they inflicted on themselves, most of them *expressed anxiety that the Dutch would establish their supremacy over all parties, and become umpires in their quarrels.*” Looking at ancient times, we find Herodotus, as quoted by Goguet, telling us, “that the Medes, after having shaken off the yoke of the Assyrians, were some time without any form of Government. They soon became a prey to the most horrid excesses and disorders. There was among them a man of *great prudence and wisdom*, named Dejœces. The Medes very often *applied to him to decide their differences.* Dejœces heard their complaints, and determined their disputes. His wisdom and discernment *soon gained him the esteem of the whole country where he lived.* They came even from *other parts of Medea to implore his assistance.* But at last being oppressed by the multiplicity of affairs which increased every day, he retired. Confusion and disorder instantly returned. The Medes held a public assembly, in which it was unanimously agreed, that *the only means of putting an end to their calamities, was, to elect a king. The choice fell upon Dejœces.*” In the present state of the Khond tribes the spirit and substance of these remarks—embodying the wishes and experience of modern Asiatic islanders and ancient Asiatic Medes—may, *mutatis mutandis*, with strict propriety, be literally applied to them. Torn and distracted by interminable feuds and sanguinary quarrels, which they have no means of adjusting, except by farther unavailing violence and bloodshed; and wearied and worn out by the dreariness, insecurity, and utter hopelessness of such an anarchical state of things;—they seem fully prepared to have the proffered good offices of a duly accredited British agent, if endowed with “great wisdom and prudence,” with as much hearty good will as the Medes of old welcomed the services of Dejœces. And were the decisions of the agent as satisfactory as were those of Dejœces of old, why should not the result be correspondent? If, in order to “put an end to their calamities,” they did not unanimously resolve to elect *him* as their king,—seeing that he would be precluded by allegiance to his own sovereign from yielding to any such requisition,—might they not be expected, in imitation of the Eastern Archipelago islanders with respect to the Dutch, earnestly to request him, in the name and on behalf of his own government, to “establish its supremacy over all parties, and become sole umpire in their quarrels?” And this grand consummation being once realized, in a way so productive of peace, so

gladdened with the prospect of permanent security, and so fraught with multitudinous collateral benefits,—the realization of all other legitimate objects could not fail gradually to follow in its train.

Having thus unfolded, as fully as our limits can well admit of, the general scheme of operation proposed by Captain Macpherson, both in its guiding principles and leading details, we must return to our narrative.

After returning from his expedition into the south western and previously unvisited Khond districts,—shattered in health, but richly laden with new information and experience—the agent proceeded to the Eastern districts of Goomsur, now become a British province, to examine into the state of affairs in that quarter. The four Hill districts of this province occupied by Khonds are Bara Mútah, Athara Mútah, Hodzoghoro, and Chokapad. As regards the general civil order and tranquillity of these tracts of country he was enabled to report favourably. When the province became British, public peace had been maintained. The happy result was, a great diminution of the amount of bloodshed; contests had been on a small scale; and the murderous axe had been rarely used. Numerous decisions of questions of disputed right had been passed by the local authority. These had taken effect, for the most part from the weight of our authority, and from their justice alone—no agency having been employed to execute them, but that of Sam Bisaye, the principal Khond Chief. But when justice was thus, in any instance, administered, it was simply for its own sake, and by way of accomplishing what was in itself an important end, without any direct or immediate reference to the attainment of other ulterior and equally important ends, such as the abolition of the Meriah sacrifice. The consequence was, that, as regarded the extinction of this sanguinary rite, little or no real progress had been made, though for six years the Khonds had been British subjects, and various efforts had been made by Government authorities towards its suppression. Major Campbell, after ascending the Ghats in January 1841, to ascertain the state of things, was obliged to report, that matters appeared rather to assume a retrogressive aspect—that “*the intention to continue the sacrifice of human victims existed with undiminished force*”—that “*persuasion and remonstrance had not had the anticipated effect*”—and that “*unless more decided measures were adopted, the Meriah sacrifice would not cease, though it might not be performed openly.*”\*

\* See *Calcutta Review*, No. XII. p. 72.

What these "more decided measures" were meant to be, we may safely infer from an expression employed two years before by the same gentleman. In his Report of January 1839, he says, "*the more I see of the Khonds the more is my opinion confirmed, that, unless we address ourselves to their fears, as well as to their better feelings, our steps for the suppression of the Meriah Pijah will be slow indeed.*"\* Captain Miller had previously declared, that, in the rescue of human victims, "*force and intimidation* were the means that he employed."† And, subsequently, Colonel Ousely, with the blunt energy of a soldier, fearlessly declared his conviction that the "*only argument*" which the Khonds "*could understand,*" was that which would be "*supported by force*;"‡ while Mr. Mills, the Commissioner of Cuttack, gave vent to his own impression of the apparently insuperable difficulties, by putting on record the memorable deliverance, viz. "CONCILIATORY MEANS ALONE WILL NOT EFFECT THE SUPPRESSION OF THE RITE. FORCE MUST PRECEDE CONCILIATION."§ Seeing, then, that neither the argument of force had been applied, on the one hand, nor the argument of clearly appreciated and permanently guaranteed benefits on the other, we need scarcely be surprized at Major Campbell's report, that the "intention to continue the sacrifice of human victims existed with undiminished force."

Such was believed, by Major Campbell and others, to be the state of feeling among the Khonds of Goomsur, at the time when Captain Macpherson returned from his expedition to the South Western districts—a state of feeling, the existence of which the searching inquiries of the latter soon tended to place beyond the possibility of a doubt. In his report, dated 15th August, 1842, Captain Macpherson thus writes:—

"The Khonds of the tracts of Bara Mútah and Athara Mútah state, that after the Goomsur war in 1836, they believed that the Government was determined to suppress the sacrifice. In the beginning of 1838, they gave a formal pledge to discontinue the rite, but not of their free will, or believing the practice to be in any degree exceptionable in reason or in justice, but in compliance with the orders of the Government as represented to them, with the consequences of refusal, by Sam Bisaye of Hodzoghoro, then lately set over them. This pledge they never regarded as in any degree binding, and they never observed it, while it was not observed by Sam Bisaye. But the rite was discontinued within their limits to a great extent from the fear of punishment, although it was still occasionally performed in public, and frequently in private. Finding that no punishment followed its practice, and seeing it freely performed in the adjoining district of Sam Bisaye, it has been gradually resumed with all the old

\* See *Calcutta Review*, No. XII. p. 71.

† See *Calcutta Review*, No. XII. p. 58.

‡ See *Calcutta Review*, No. XII. p. 92.

§ See *Calcutta Review*, No. XI. p. 88.

forms. And this year it has been performed every where and for the most part publicly, with little or no apprehension of consequences. Fourteen or fifteen public sacrifices have been offered in the three districts of Athara Mútah, Bara Mútah, and Hodzoghoro, and large preparations are now making for future offerings.

Whether or not the whole number of Khond offerings was diminished during the period in which the sacrifice was partly suppressed, and partly converted into a secret rite, in these districts, it is difficult to determine. I have been able to discover no Khond resident in them who professes to have, in any year, actually gone without the flesh for his land. And the few non-sacrificing Khonds of the border, whom I have had an opportunity to question, and who abstain from the water of land that has been polluted with human blood within the year, assure me that there was no where, in those tracts, any interval of purity."

Another fact, of the utmost importance as regards the understanding of the future consequences of events, brought to light, at the same time, by Captain Macpherson, was, that "Sam Bisaye, his family, and Hindu dependents in Hodzoghoro, were regarded by the Khonds, and, in point of fact, were, *the great supporters of the rite.*" By referring to the ninth number of this work, page 37, it will be seen what the title "Bisaye" indicated. It was conferred on the great chief who stood in the twofold relation of "federal Patriarch of a cluster of Khond tribes," and "Agent for Khond affairs" to the neighbouring Zemindar-Rajah. At the time of the outbreak of the Goomsur war, Dora Bisaye was the person who held this twofold office, in connection with the Zemindar-Rajah and Hill Khond tribes of Goomsur. Being a rebel, his office was forfeited, and himself ultimately sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. At the commencement of the war, Sam Bisaye was simply chief of one of the Khond tribes, occupying the district of Hodzoghoro. During the first year of the war his conduct proved treacherous in the highest degree.\* But having behaved better, and, indeed, having rendered some important services during the second year of the war, he was, by way of recompense, though not without strong misgiving on the part of Mr. Russel, invested with the office of the late Dora Bisaye, and duly constituted, with much pomp and ceremonial, head of all the Khond tribes of Goomsur. In reporting this fact to his Government in May 1837, Mr. Russel said, "It may perhaps be thought that the conduct of this man, during the first part of the late insurrection, attaches too much suspicion to his character, to justify the confidence now reposed in him;" and then goes on to shew, that in the very peculiar state of things, a better choice could not, on the

\* See *Calcutta Review*, No. IX. p. 16-17.



whole, be more expediently made. Captain Macpherson, however, now found himself obliged, as the result of his inquiries, to report that this powerful chief had, times and ways without number, abused the confidence which had been so generously and undeservedly placed in him.

As already stated, he was entrusted by the local British authority with the execution of their judicial decisions. In implementing this responsible trust, he was charged by all the Khonds, with "having taken bribes, when it was possible, from every party to every dispute." And when spoken to on the subject, by Captain Macpherson, not as a matter of grave charge, but as a matter of universal notoriety, he simply and coolly replied, that "it was necessary that he should do so, for the support of his family." While lending himself to injustice generally, whenever he could hope to profit by it, he, on one occasion, went so far as to bring the country under his superintendence to the brink of a ruinous conflict, for the trifling bribe of a pair of pistols, which a Patriarch had come by in the Goomsur war, and which Sam Bisaye had long coveted!

With respect to the Meriah sacrifice, his conduct was alike base and treacherous. To the generosity of the British Government he owed his exalted situation, dignities and privileges, wealth and power. Well did he know how much that Government had at heart the abolition of the cruel Meriah rite. He had solemnly engaged to assist it in the carrying out of all its wishes and ameliorative plans. And yet, in spite of his obligations and his promises, he was found to be the chief obstruction to its benevolent designs. The facts being too notorious for denial, he admitted to Captain Macpherson, without any hesitation or difficulty, that "three public sacrifices had lately taken place, with his sanction, in Hodzoghoro;" while his son avowed that "at some of these he had himself taken the first part." He admitted, that in his own country, there were at least thirty intended victims in confinement; while he was convicted by the evidence of the whole Khond population, of "exacting a present to permit each sacrifice." Indeed, so glaring was the notoriety of this fact, that, when personally brought home to him, "he did not attempt to deny the general truth of this heavy and grievous charge." After such disclosures we need scarcely wonder at the following entry in Captain Macpherson's official report:—

"Having grown old as the hereditary Hindu minister of the gods of Hodzoghoro, and as the Bisaye or manager of its affairs with the zemindars and with other tribes, and thence being mixed up with all its obligations and feuds, and having, necessarily, no ideas of public or private justice

but those of the Khonds, or those of the tyrannies of the Hill Rajahs,—I do not think that there were grounds for expecting, that when placed in his present position, removed from observation and from all immediate checks, he would be found a willing or a sincere agent for the overthrow of the Khond superstition, or a faithful minister of a better system of justice. And, in fact, his superstition, his cupidity, and his extreme obstinacy of temper, naturally acquiring strength with age, now present important obstacles to the attainment of our objects.”

Such was the unpromising and uninviting aspect of Khond affairs when Captain Macpherson commenced his labours as Agent, with very circumscribed authority, in the Hill country of Goomsur. But, strong in his conviction of the rectitude of his own intentions and the benevolence of his own motives, and upborne by an undoubting faith in the general adaptation and efficacy of his well digested and long matured plans,—he resolved, with cheerfulness and alacrity, to attempt all which his very limited powers would allow.

The administration of justice, in accordance generally with Khond ideas and usages, and with a distinct view to the establishment of authority and the ultimate abolition of the Meriah sacrifice, being the grand central and vital doctrine of his system, he did not wait till cases of disputed rights presented themselves for settlement. He invited, and, in every lawful way, encouraged the bringing of such cases to him at once for adjustment, whenever they might arise. Accordingly he soon found himself thoroughly engrossed with the duties of his assumed office as umpire. Causes flowed in upon him; and to their equitable settlement he gave himself with indefatigable energy and untiring perseverance. Nor did he labour in vain. He soon had the unspeakable consolation of witnessing the fruit of his labours, in the general satisfaction which his decisions gave, and the general confidence, which, in consequence, he succeeded in inspiring in the naturally suspicious and obdurate breasts of the Khonds. Of his method of procedure he furnishes us with one specimen in detail; and as it will help to convey a better idea of the state of feeling among the Khonds, and his way of consulting it without injurious compromise, we may here quote the entire statement :—

“Major Campbell, in the beginning of this year, settled by an amicable arrangement, confirmed by a solemn promise, a dispute betwixt two branches of the Cretingia tribe, in the course of which two men had already fallen upon either side. The heads of one of these branches, however, named Lando Mullik and Comti Mullik, immediately afterwards gained Sam Bisaye by presents, and determined to renew the contest. The people of Athara Mütah were nearly equally divided as the allies of the contending parties who are of a non-sacrificing tribe from the South. Sam Bisaye now sent messengers to the tribes which were opposed to his friends, threatening them with the vengeance of the Government if they

moved in the adjusted quarrel, while the partizans of the other party were, at the same time, secretly encouraged to prepare to strike a blow; a sudden attack was made in which six persons of the branch, which, relying for protection upon our authority, had neglected measures to protect itself, were cruelly slain. The tribes allied to it, highly incensed by the deception of Sam Bisaye and its consequences, prepared to avenge them. Sam Bisaye, alarmed at the length to which matters were proceeding, then did all that was possible, with the aid of another sirdar, from the low country, to allay the storm, and it was fortunately kept under until my arrival. Had this not been effected, a conflict must have arisen involving at least the whole great district of Athara Mútah in deadly strife, which must have been fatal to the hope of accomplishing at present any of the objects of the Government, of which *peace* is plainly the first condition.

I investigated this matter in the presence of the chief people of Athara Mútah, and they, with the parties, and Sam Bisaye, gave their evidence, and stated their opinions freely upon every point. All were agreed as to the facts of the case. And in these discussions, I must observe, that the desire of peace was plainly the leading idea in every mind. The greatest happiness which we seek for, said all the patriarchs, "is this, that the only axe known in Athara Mútah shall be the wood-axe, and that every man shall enjoy his own in peace." The complaining parties spoke out plainly and truly. They said that they had suffered this affliction entirely from the Government's not having protected them, while it had prevented them, through Sam Bisaye—by whose warning to their allies both these and they were deceived—from protecting themselves, which they were perfectly able to have done; and all present went with them.

I trust that the mode in which I have acted in this case, under the constraint of circumstances wholly different from any that are contemplated by our laws, will be approved.

The matter was plainly to be dealt with upon the broadest view of the circumstances, and with reference to our general objects. It was obviously necessary to demonstrate, that the *first object* of the Government was to establish *peace*, and also, that what its authority had bound, was not to be unloosed. But war betwixt branches of tribes is necessarily, in no degree criminal in the sight of the Khonds. The institutions which render it at once unnecessary and unlawful, do not exist amongst them; and we have not declared it criminal. Its punishment as a crime in this case, would therefore, have been quite unintelligible to them, would have been impossible with justice, with reference to the numbers concerned, and would have put an end to confidence in our views of justice, as necessary for the preservation of the peace. I have simply imprisoned the two chief offenders at Nowgaum until security shall be obtained for their conduct, or until the state of Society shall warrant their release, and I do not conceive that they should be the object of farther proceedings. The effect of their confinement has been most satisfactory. They are constantly visited by the Khonds; all parties concur in the justice of their punishment as exciters of discord, and as breakers of faith with the Government, and express themselves with freedom to them respecting it: and they have no reply but "that they acted in the old way, misled by Sam Bisaye." The decisions formerly passed by the local authority, which were tending to give way, stand firm. Those since passed have been promptly obeyed; all has been tranquillity, confidence, and good feeling; and the number and the variety of matters which have since been brought by the Khonds for settlement have been endless. It will, I hope, be possible to liberate the confined patriarchs with good effect a few months hence."

Having thus succeeded, at an earlier period than, in his most sanguine mood, he had ever ventured to anticipate, in gaining the confidence of these wild and barbarous, though, in many respects, simple and unsophisticated people, he next began, in terms of his appointment, to make cautious inquisition into the all-important matter of the abolition of human sacrifice. He addressed himself first to the Khonds of Bara Mútah. At his express invitation, the Patriarchs and men of influence came and remained with him at Nowgaum for above a fortnight. The time was spent in discussing every point connected with their situation, their religion, their relations with other Khonds, and to the Government. His chief or primary object was to ascertain exactly their ideas and feelings, and to communicate to them a few distinct conceptions of the general views of the Government towards them. He was anxious to avoid the formal consideration of future arrangements with them, until he should be able to visit the Hill country with adequate power to complete them. Such reticence with respect to the future was soon found, however, to be impossible; neither did it, at length, appear to be desirable, entirely to avoid the contemplation of prospective measures. In the end, as the result of friendly but almost interminable discussions, various definite propositions were made to him, indicative of the willingness of the Khonds to relinquish the rite of human sacrifice, upon certain conditions of which the more material were the following:—

- “That they shall be received into the immediate protection of the Government, and shall always obtain justice from it.

That if any Khond of Bara Mútah shall infringe the engagement to abstain from the sacrifice, and from the use of human flesh, he shall suffer very severe punishment at the hands of the Government, as such an infraction, besides being a breach of faith with the Government and with his own people, may involve the latter in ruin from the wrath of their gods.

That the Khonds shall be at liberty to sacrifice buffaloes, monkeys, goats, &c. to their deities, with all the solemnities which are now observed on occasions of human sacrifice.

The Khonds of Bara Mútah promise to abstain from the great rite in perfect freedom from fear or constraint, seeking to obtain from the Government the constant protection and the justice above specified. But they beg permission to say, that if Sam Bisaye and the Khonds of Hodzoghoro shall be allowed to continue the sacrifice, the difficulty of abstinence from it upon their part will be so very greatly increased, that it is a question with them, whether it will be possible for them to observe absolute abstinence at least for more than five years.”

The proposers of these terms were then sent back to their hills, there to reconsider them, and to submit them to the Councils of the tribes. They were so submitted; and in eight days, the Agent was informed that they were “universally agreed to.”

He had reason to believe that this *spontaneously proffered* agreement was made in sincerity, and that some ground was thereby afforded on which to act. Still, on this subject, by way of precaution, he deemed it proper to record the following calm, candid, and moderate remarks :—

“ I estimate at a low rate the power of barbarous men to emancipate themselves from the bonds of ancient superstition. Permanent abstinence from the vital ordinances of a deity, the faith in whose omnipotence is unshaken, is, I conceive, entirely beyond the strength of men, supported only by the few and imperfectly perceived reasons and by the comparatively weak and superficial feelings which at present influence these people, the most advanced of whom look tremblingly to the multiplication of their lesser sacrifices, and to the shelter of the plea of virtual constraint by our authority, as a compensation, or an apology for the omission of their chief rite. The punishment of the breach of an obligation so to abstain is plainly a matter of great difficulty. But when the general state of opinion and feeling shall, through the operation of the influences which we can apply, render it advisable and possible any where to deter individuals from this worship by punishment, there is fortunately room to hope that it may be done effectually, as the Khonds apprehend from their gods' temporal punishments alone, which, or their equivalents, we can employ.”

He next communicated with the tribes of Athara Mútah. Nineteen out of their twenty-one Patriarchs of branches came and remained for some time with him. One of the chiefs who did not appear (the Patriarch of Loheringiah) sent a representative and an apology; the other (the chief of Cottingiah) offered no excuse. The ideas and feelings of these people differed very materially, *in their details*, from those of the Khonds of Bara Mútah, to whom they are in every point of view inferior. Although Captain Macpherson was, in their case also, very anxious to waive the consideration of distinct arrangements for the future, these Patriarchs, after very long and anxious discussions upon almost every subject to which their knowledge or their imaginations reached, could not be prevented from *offering* to relinquish the rite of sacrifice, “ *upon the condition of their receiving protection and peace and justice from the Government.*”

They were then requested to return home, in order to submit the question to the Tribes and their Councils; and they left, in the confident assurance, that they would be able to send in their victims in a few days, in token of their general consent. As was anticipated, however, their people were not to be so easily swayed. There was at first much and even strenuous opposition. But at the end of seven weeks, Captain Macpherson received the intimation that “all were finally agreed,” with the exception of the people of Loheringiah and Cottingiah, whose Patriarchs had absented themselves when

originally summoned, and who now declared that they "would not abandon their ancient worship." The evil genius of San Bisaye had been at work with these people and their chiefs, whose country borders on Hodzoghoro. An agent of his was actually found to be resident among these two Branch Tribes; and it could not be doubted that, under his malign influence, they were prevailed upon to assume an hostile attitude. The victims, scattered throughout the tracts occupied by the other nineteen tribes, with the exception of about a dozen, were punctually delivered up to Captain Macpherson.

Success, so great and unexpected, might well have elated the mind of the agent, and hurried him impetuously forward in his new career. But he knew when and where to pause, as well as where and when energetically to operate. His ardour was only matched by his prudence; and his activity by his penetrating foresight. Hitherto every step had been taken with the greatest circumspection and caution. Knowing that it was vain to attempt to reach the body of the people otherwise than through their own venerated chiefs, he judiciously sent for these, with the view of indoctrinating their minds with his own views and wishes. Knowing, at the same time, from the constitution of Khond society, that the chiefs, of themselves, could decide nothing authoritatively for their respective tribes, and that any decision binding on the tribe could only emanate from an assembled council of chiefs and people, he, as judiciously, sent back the Patriarchs to consult with their followers. And now, while burning with desire to push on the advantage he had gained, he, at the same time, was resolutely determined to do nothing rashly. He longed to advance with rapid pace to the realization of his fondest wishes; but, fearful of making a false step and keenly alive to the fatal consequences that might ensue therefrom, he deliberately reined in his zeal,—preferring to walk slowly for the sake of treading safely. He had succeeded in obtaining a hold of the people of the two principal Khond districts of Goomsur, which promised a great and permanent triumph, and his purpose was to devote himself to the strengthening of that hold, in order to secure a firm stepping stone for after progress, rather than, by premature efforts, run the risk of failure and its disastrous issues elsewhere. By these and such like considerations was his conduct now regulated. With the people of Chokapad, the third of the Khond districts of Goomsur, there had of late been little communication. Judging from the demeanour of the few of its Patriarchs whom he had seen, he shrewdly inferred that their minds were not quite prepared for the free discussion of their religion, as

of any other vital subject; and so he made up his mind to wait a more favourable opportunity for dealing with them. In like manner from the character, position and known antagonism of Sam Bisaye, he felt that there would be extreme difficulty in dealing with him and his people. In order to such effective dealing, he felt that it was necessary to ascertain exactly the ideas and feelings, upon many subjects, of the Khonds and Hindus of Sam's own district, and of the tracts beyond, where he had influence—and this, by direct communication with them, which the wily chief lately prevented by the most jealous prohibition of their approach to him. When such full information was obtained, a decided course should be resolved upon. In the meanwhile, the greatest care should be taken to prevent him from formally assuming the character towards which his actions tended,—that of head of the determined votaries of the ancient ritual. Having ascertained that the people of the two recusant tribes of Athara Mútah had resolved to sacrifice several victims at the return of next full moon; and being duly apprized by the Patriarchs of the other tribes, that, if these sacrifices should be permitted, all or nearly all their people would be strongly tempted to break through their weak resolutions and share in the flesh;—he turned his most serious attention simply to the adoption of measures to prevent these and other public offerings, without alienating the minds of the inhabitants of the tracts with which he had not yet communicated.

Having now done all which, with his limited powers, it was competent for him to undertake, and a great deal more than, in so short a time and with such incommensurate means, could well have been anticipated; and having, above all, been now privileged, though under very disadvantageous circumstances, to exemplify the nature and demonstrate the efficacy of his proposed plan of grappling with the Meriah difficulty, by partially reducing it to practice;—he resolved to address Government anew on the subject. He could not but feel that he might now do so, with enhanced effect. He came forward, no longer as a mere theorist however sound, but as an experimentalist who had actually verified the soundness of the theory, to the utmost, which the inadequacy of the means at his disposal, could possibly allow. His scheme, viewed as a theory, was not a mere ingenious hypothesis—a mere conjecture or guess. It was, from the first, based on actually observed facts, and direct inevitable references from these facts; wise men might, therefore, not be ashamed or afraid to take it up and try it, lest it might prove an utter chimera. But now, when tested and authenticated by results

which proved its applicability and power, it did not need the sagacity of the pre-eminent wise to detect its merits, or the advocacy of the astutely subtle to secure it from obloquy or contempt. It plainly stood forth as a veritable engine of unmistakable potency. And all that was required, was, that an enlightened and philanthropic Government would take it up in all its latitude—give free scope for the full action of its power—judiciously regulate its varied movements—and then rejoice over the magnificent products which it seemed fitted to realize.

To this object, therefore, Captain Macpherson now strenuously addressed himself. In so doing, he briefly, but in a masterly style, recapitulated the leading points and features of the former expositions of his plans. He had before stated at length, that,—from the constitution and characteristic conditions of society among the Khond tribes, together with the spirit of their manners and habits of feeling,—the establishment of distinct relations with them as subjects, must prove the necessary basis of the authority by which we might hope to effect the suppression of the rite of human sacrifice—and that, by the combined application of the various species of influence, which might be addressed to them, through their wants and interests and through particular classes of society and individuals, that authority might be made adequate to the accomplishment of our purpose. The relations which he now proposed to establish, were, for the nearer tribes or those of Goomsur, “submission to laws directly administered by us”—for those more remote, or beyond the British territory of Goomsur, “the practical acknowledgment of our supremacy.” How these objects were to be hopefully prosecuted and ultimately attained, he again explains, and enforces in the following strain:—

*“The institutions of the Khonds suffice, generally, to maintain order and security within tribes; but no general authority exists to control these, or their branches, or powerful individuals, to determine questions of civil right between them, and to enforce its decisions; hence, Society is every where distracted by contests, animosities, and feuds. The Khonds, from the distinctive circumstances of their social condition, have necessarily felt severely this great want, and have attempted to supply it. And wherever it has been possible from the nature of our intercourse with them, that confidence in the character and the objects of the Government should have arisen, they have shewn a desire to receive a remedy for it at our hands.*

*This great want, of a Civil jurisdiction capable of determining Society to order, I conceive that we can supply to the most accessible of those tribes, in a form, and in a spirit suitable to their character and their circumstances: so that our authority shall, in virtue of its beneficial character, and through combination with other influences, become supreme. The remoter tribes, when they shall perceive that our objects are purely benevolent, and*



*beneficial, will, I believe, readily receive the idea of its supremacy; and will regard general subordination to it, leading to submission, not as an oppressive but as an elevating and a desirable connection.*

What is to be done then, in the first instance, is this, to establish our direct authority over the people of Bara Mútah and Athara Mútah as subjects, upon the basis of the administration of justice, while, we surround and combine this measure with all the other measures which I have elsewhere\* enumerated, and, at the same time, assert our Supremacy, and extend our influence by every means that can be devised over the remoter tribes. The suppression of the rite of sacrifice being expected as a gradual result of the direct and indirect pressure of our authority, and of our various and accumulating influence.

The view which I have formed as to the law to be administered in these districts, and the powers to be given to the local agency for its administration, is this. We are to attempt, chiefly by engrafting our authority upon the institutions of these tribes, to give them justice, NOT ONLY AS AN END, BUT AS A CHIEF MEANS OF ACQUIRING THE DOMINION OVER THEM WHICH IS NECESSARY TO EFFECT OUR OBJECTS. Those laws must therefore, necessarily, be *their own usages*, with such modifications and additions calculated to advance those objects, as ever changing circumstances shall dictate. Such laws, it seems plain that the local authority must determine as well as administer, while the Government can but prescribe the principles,—the spirit, and the modes in which it shall act.

I beg leave, therefore, to suggest—

That the Khonds, the Sourahs, and every class of inhabitants of the hill country within the Ganjam agency, shall be excepted from the operation of the instructions by Government for the administration in it of civil and criminal justice; and that all persons residing elsewhere within the agency shall, in respect of the offence of trafficking in human victims, and that of buying or selling children unlawfully, be excepted from the operation of so much of those instructions as relates to criminal justice.

That the local agency be instructed to administer civil and criminal justice to the population of the hill country, and to the persons residing elsewhere who are above excepted, according to equity, and to their usages and customs with a view to the accomplishment of the objects prescribed by the Government. The rules with respect to property held on tenures resembling the feudal to remain unchanged. The local authority to have power to sentence to imprisonment with or without hard labour for six years, and to 195 stripes, and to carry into execution, and to remit, at any time the whole or any part of such sentence, without reference to superior authority; but sanction to be required for the execution, or for the remission of any higher punishment. The proceedings of the local authority to be submitted to the Government, not to the Foujdari Adalat, which cannot recognize the principles or the forms upon which they must be conducted.

I beg leave to observe, that I propose these limits to the discretionary power of the local agency, rather with reference to existing usage, than because I think it certain that higher penalties will be rarely required, or that the opinion of the local officers must not determine their necessity. The chief questions which will arise in these tracts may be thus classified.

1. Questions betwixt persons of different tribes or branches of tribes relating to property in the soil.

\* For these, see page 19-20.

2. Questions betwixt the same persons, relating to usages of marriage and of concubinage.

3. Breaches of the peace arising out of these two classes of questions.

4. The sale and purchase of victims by Hindus.

5. The sale and purchase of victims by Panwas and other castes not Hindus.

6. The sale and purchase of victims by Hindus.

7. The sacrifice of victims, or the use of the flesh of victims, by persons of each of these classes.

I have already\* laid before the Government the reasons which appear to me to require, that the Khond tracts of Boad and Duspallah in the Cuttack District should be included in the same plan of operations with those of Goomsur.

I have instituted careful enquiries with respect to the procurers of victims, both below and above the Ghats in this quarter, and have obtained a list of most of the persons who are habitually engaged in this traffic. I have, at the same time, ascertained, that the Khond country of Goomsur, (and of course that of Boad) is supplied to a great extent with victims by Panwas of the adjoining zemindaries of Nyaghur, Duspallah, and Boad in the Cuttack district.

I propose that energetic measures shall be immediately taken against the procurers of every class; but such measures will, under these circumstances, plainly avail nothing, if they shall be limited to the Ganjam district. The zemindaries of Nyaghur, Duspallah, and Boad, are far removed from the seat of the Magistracy in Cuttack, and their police is, I believe, entirely in the hands of the zemindars. I perceive no means of acting effectually upon the procurers residing in them, but that of making the officers of this district, like the officers employed in suppressing Thuggee, Joint Magistrates in Cuttack, and by giving the criminal tribunals of Ganjam and of Cuttack joint jurisdiction over persons accused of the offence of procuring victims in the three zemindaries which I have named.

The agency which is required for the execution of the measures which I suggest, is plainly the great difficulty. Had our experience of the climate of the Ghats last year been less disastrous, I should have felt confident upon this point. But the few persons who then accompanied me to the Hills, to acquire experience are dead or disabled for this service, and the difficulty of finding for the future a succession of able and experienced instruments for a work which demands much ability, and much preparation, which is repulsive to the best instructed castes, attractive to none, and so exceedingly dangerous, is not to be disguised.

My hope is that the districts in which I now propose to act may prove to be less unhealthy than the other tracts; that, with elephant carriage, very brief visits may be frequently made to them with safety; that efficiency may be given to some instruments native to the climate; and, from my late experience, that very much may be done effectually from the nearest safe points below the Ghats. I possess now, in a few men, if aided as I shall indicate, the means of attempting what I have proposed, to dispense justice to Bara Mútah and Athara Mútah, and to communicate with the other districts in the manner required.

It is plain, that the decisions of authority in these tracts must be carried into effect by instruments very carefully chosen and instructed. The paiks of the tracts lying under the Hills are alone, in any degree, fitted by local knowledge, and by constitution, for this work. The elite of these have

\* See page 21-22.

now fortunately been embodied for several years in the Company of Sebundies, and have learnt habits of discipline, and they are commanded by a son of the late Rajah of Souradah, who passed his youth in the Khond Country, and who, I believe, may be made, as his brother is already, an instrument of high value in carrying out this design. I propose, therefore, that for the present, fifty men, or one-half of this body, carefully selected from the whole, shall, with their officer, be assigned to this service. I do not think that it can be attempted successfully without this aid.

With respect to the use of force it seems to me, that we must keep distinctly in view the risk of producing feelings of antipathy towards the Government in the nearer tracts to which alone it can be applied, which must be fatal at least to the hope of establishing influence in the districts beyond; and the risk, that the Khonds, if force shall be used directly and prominently to suppress their great rite, will regard its abolition as the *sole* object of our interference with them, instead of *one of many objects, of which the others are palpably beneficial, and will necessarily resist it as a tyranny*. It therefore seems to me, that force should be used *only as a secondary means,—should be applied only to coerce individuals when societies have been gained.*"

After next briefly advertng to other subsidiary and collateral measures, some of which had been originally proposed by Mr. Russel; and more especially to the means of greatly improving the principal and most frequented route from the districts of the upper valley of the Mahanudi through the Khond tracts of Goomsur, and by the Corrminghia Ghat, to the Ganjam coast;—Captain Macpherson concludes his elaborate and masterly report, by urging the necessity for the early adoption by Government of a general and systematic plan of operations. But while he urged the necessity of speedily adopting such a comprehensive plan, he did not propose that the whole field should be actually entered on at once. No; his judicious proposition was, that it should be taken up gradually and piecemeal—beginning with the portion which held out the most encouraging hopes of early and certain success, and then making use of the portion gained as a fulcrum on which to prise the lever of reform, in advancing to the next. For the commencement of these operations, he proposed to select the sacrificing tracts, where infanticide is not practised, and which are included in the adjacent Zemindaries of Goomsur, Boad and Duspallah—and that, for the following conclusive reasons:—

"That portion of the country is, in every respect, the best known, and is in part surveyed. In the tracts of Goomsur alone, in this part of the region of the Ghats, is the idea of the supremacy of the Government distinctly received, our direct authority having been exercised in them during the last six years. The possession and the immediate administration of the Hindu part of the Goomsur zemindary enables us to exert a very powerful direct influence over its hill districts. The latter are separated, as has been stated, from the sacrificing Khond tracts to the southward, except at a single point

by a large interposed non-sacrificing population. Their population, and that of the adjoining Khond districts of Boad and Duspallah, generally understand the Uriya language, while the southern Khonds speak no Hindu tongue, a consideration of the greatest importance. The Khond plateau of Goomsur and Boad is by far the most accessible part of the hill country in this quarter. And, finally, there is some reason to hope, that its climate may not prove to be so deadly as that of the southern districts."

Both the reports, the earlier, that of April, and the latter, that of August, 1842—with their varied and novel information, and weighty and well matured recommendations,—were duly submitted to the Madras Government, and by it were received with the favour which they so eminently deserved. The Madras Council, so far as we can learn, appear to have been unanimous in their approbation of the reports and of the general plan of operations therein suggested. The head of the Government in particular, Lord Elphinstone, being about to retire from his exalted office, recorded his concurrent views in the form of a minute, characterized alike by the ability of the statesman and the hearty earnestness of the philanthropist. In that minute, which in the issue was found faithfully to represent the sentiments of the Council, his Lordship, as we understand, declared that, on the point of making over the Government to his successor, he could say with truth that few subjects had given him greater anxiety, and in none had he felt greater difficulty, than in the measures to be adopted for the suppression of the horrible custom of human sacrifice among the wild tribes of Khondistan. The duty and necessity of our intervention as the rulers of this country to put a stop to this revolting practice, had always been apparent to him: nothing in fact could, in his estimation, exceed the weight of this obligation except the difficulty of its performance. In reviewing past measures he clearly shewed why the Government had discountenanced the employment of intimidating threats which could not be enforced, and the application of force which was alike unsuitable and impracticable: in a word, why it counselled conciliation and deprecated whatever might lead to irritation and distrust. He was led to shew why the only *original* measure which Major Campbell had proposed, viz. that of *purchasing victims from the Khonds at the price which they cost*,\* could be, in the highest degree, impolitic and nugatory. He dwelt on the constant support which the Government had afforded to every expedient for improving, through the establishment of fairs and the opening of new routes, the means of communication and intercourse between the Khonds and the

\* See *Calcutta Review*, No. XII. p. 59-60.

inhabitants of the low country; and pointed to the aid which had been rendered in the rescue of victims, and the condign punishment of kidnappers. But all these and such like measures he regarded as merely of an isolated, desultory and inadequate character. They could never cope with the real evil; or of themselves suffice for the attainment of our object. In looking back on all the statements and reports laid before Government, apart from those of Captain Macpherson, he could not find amongst them all, any proposal that amounted to any thing like a connected, fixed, or definite plan. Indeed there was a total lack of such information as might enable the Government or any of its agents to lay down any thing like a settled plan or system of operations. Hence the origin of the proposition to depute a special agent to visit the Khond districts—one grand end of such appointment being the collecting of the requisite information. In his original Report of 1841, and still more, in his two recent reports of April and August 1842, Captain Macpherson had succeeded in conveying much more definite and precise information as to the social condition of the Khonds, and of the limits of the various superstitions which prevailed amongst them than we were before at all acquainted with. Nothing could prove more clearly than these reports, the inutility of partial and desultory efforts, and the absolute necessity of well digested and systematic ones. Towards the formation and final adoption of such measures, these valuable and highly interesting reports furnished invaluable materials, as well as admirable suggestions. The introduction of *our* influence among the Zemindar-Rajahs, with the Khond Chiefs and their people; in other words, the establishment of *our* authority, as supreme and paramount, in these wild tracts, was clearly pointed out as an object to be steadily and perseveringly, but gradually and cautiously pursued. We were to appear in the first instance not as imperious innovators, but as mediators, or rather arbitrators or umpires—interposing our good offices when suitable opportunities offered—settling quarrels and disputes, and composing feuds between the various chiefs, and directly between the hill tribes themselves. The influence thus acquired was to be directed to the one great object in view, viz. the abolition of the sacrifice. And Captain Macpherson's Reports distinctly pointed out the mode in which such influence was to be directed, as well as the time and the place in which it might be most beneficially exercised. The discovery of the non-sacrificing and infanticidal tribes, as well of tribes who practised neither of these detestable rites, together with the division of the country into distinct tracts

with reference to these peculiarities, were justly regarded as of the first importance. The success which attended Captain Macpherson's proceedings in the two great Khond districts of Bara Mútah and Athara Mútah was warmly hailed as confirmatory of the soundness of the general views set forth in the author's reports, and highly encouraging as regarded future efforts of a similar description elsewhere. Verbal pledges had indeed been often given before, but, it did not escape the sagacity of Lord Elphinstone and his council, that these had been marked with singular deficiencies. The grand omission in *every former compact* with these tribes, was, *the absence of all acknowledgement on our part of the duty of affording protection and justice to the Khonds, and on their side, the duty of submission and obedience to the Government* ; while in the proposals made to Captain Macpherson by the Khonds of Bara Mútah and Athara Mútah, which were universally agreed to by them, this omission had been fully supplied. Formerly too, the pledges had uniformly been given or extorted under the influence of fear ; they were, therefore, involuntary and forced : whereas, now, they were proffered as the result of full deliberation and discussion ; they were, for the first time, really voluntary and free. And whether these conditions would be faithfully observed or not, a spontaneous acknowledgment had been acquired of our right to interfere, which the tribes themselves could no longer dispute, and to which, if prudently and steadily asserted, they would doubtless submit without apprehension or distrust. But out of this compact, now first *voluntarily* admitted, arose the necessity of a more simple system of control than that of the existing law. That protection and justice which the state of society among the Khonds demanded, could not be afforded ; that salutary control, which was needed, could not be exercised, nor even that right of interference which had been acquired, be prudently enforced, while we continued to act upon the principles or to observe the forms of judicial proceedings made for people in so very different a stage of civilization. For these and similar reasons, his Lordship in Council appeared cordially to approve of Captain Macpherson's proposal that the entire hill population with the several agencies of Cuttack, Ganjam, and Vizagapatam should be withdrawn from the usual civil and criminal jurisdiction—that parties in the low country concerned in procuring Mariah victims should be excepted from the same—and that the special agent should be invested with the power to adjudicate in civil cases according to equity, and in criminal, with immediate jurisdiction to the extent pointed out in the second report.

Conceiving it, moreover, to be of the utmost importance to act simultaneously and energetically against the traffic in human victims, it was adjudged to be desirable that the Khond agent, and the magistrates in the adjoining districts of Cuttack, should be invested with joint jurisdiction, which should also be extended to the Criminal Courts of the several districts. For the carrying out of the judicial decisions, the fifty paiks sought for by Captain Macpherson might at once be placed at his disposal. And in all these varied measures was distinctly seen and recognized the sure groundwork of a systematic course of proceeding, from which His Lordship in Council anticipated ultimate success.

But, while his Lordship in Council thus emphatically approved of the extended and systematic plan of operations suggested by Captain Macpherson, it was felt that, from the enlarged sphere of action embraced by it, and from its requiring the combined co-operation of the Bengal and Madras Governments, together with the appointment of a special agent invested with peculiar and extraordinary powers,—it would be necessary to submit it for the consideration and sanction of the Government of India. And his Lordship in Council resolved to lose no time in bringing it to the notice of that Supreme Authority. Nor was this resolution an idle or nugatory one. In due season it was transmitted, formally endorsed with the approbation of the Madras Government, to the Governor-General of India in Council, with the earnest recommendation that it should be favourably received,—in its essential spirit and substance adopted,—and with the least practicable delay acted on. Indeed, from the very nature of the case and peculiar circumstances, it was abundantly obvious that, if ever acted on at all, the sooner the better;—while the feelings of many of those most deeply concerned were mantling warmly in its favour; and ere the latent seeds of aversion elsewhere should develope themselves in overt acts of defiant antagonism.

But, unhappily, the season proved most inauspicious for the prompt or immediate consideration of such a subject as that of the abolition of the Meriah sacrifice among the barbarous, but politically harmless, Khonds. There were other native tribes, not commonly reputed to be barbarous, who were then striking the deadliest blow at the *prestige* of British invincibility and supremacy, that had yet been inflicted since the sceptre of the Great Mogul was first wrenched by British prowess from his grasp. Lord Elphinstone's Minute bore the date of the 22d September. The extract from the Minutes of consultation of the Madras Government, bearing the honoured signature

of Mr. Walter Elliot, and forwarded to the Governor-General in Council, were dated the 10th December, 1842. By that time, Sir Alexander Burnes and other British officers had been cruelly murdered at Kabul; and one messenger of evil tidings after another was fast travelling to the metropolis—each conveying more disastrous intelligence than his predecessor. Such, therefore, was not the time, when any Governor-General—haunted as he must have been by terrible visions of wholesale massacre, and ominous forebodings as to the safety and stability of the empire itself—could well be expected to turn aside his attention, and direct it, with concentrated energy, to the adjustment of plans for suppressing, in a remote, obscure and peaceful province, a social evil which involved no political urgency or danger.

Here, however, for the present we must pause. The reception which the Madras application and reference met with at the hands of the Supreme Government, and the varied and deeply interesting statements, illustrative of the further proceedings which constitute the *second* series of Government measures for the abolition of human sacrifices among the Khonds, must now be reserved for another fitting opportunity—the present contribution being intended only as a *first* part or instalment. Enough, however, has, we trust, been adduced to indicate both the general and specific nature of the proceedings—enough to shew that they are marked by peculiarities which fairly entitled them to be regarded as altogether a distinct class from the first.\* In our statement of principles, plans and operations, the name of Captain Macpherson is that which most conspicuously appears. But this is no doing of ours. We simply imposed upon ourselves the task of faithfully delineating facts as we found them recorded in authoritative documents. In a former paper, the names of Russel, Bannerman, Miller, Hill, Campbell, Mills, Hicks, and Ouseley, were those which most prominently occurred. Captain Macpherson did not then make his appearance on the scene as an actor at all. In the course of our historic narrative, however, we duly and regularly arrived at the period when he did enter, as sole actor, on the scene. And if it be lawful, merely for the sake of illustration, to compare small things with great, it must be obvious that the principles, plans and operations of this period are as exclusively those of Captain Macpherson, as the principles, plans and operations of the Peninsular Campaigns were those of the Duke of Wellington. If, therefore, throughout

\* These have been fully and impartially recorded in No. XII. of this work.



this period, the principal figure in the foreground of our historic sketch, be that of Captain Macpherson, it is solely because, throughout that period, he was in reality the most conspicuous personage, as a propounder of principles, a deviser of plans, and an executor of important deeds. We are utterly unconscious of being swayed or actuated by any undue personal bias or favouritism towards Captain Macpherson. Quite the contrary. Of him we literally knew nothing till we perused, in manuscript copy, a considerable portion of his original report of 1841. That report at once arrested our attention. The theme was novel and to our mind of singular interest—the main object contemplated, one of deep concern to the cause of humanity—while the report presented itself as a remarkable monument of indefatigable industry, unconquerable perseverance, and no ordinary mental perspicuity, judgment, and good sense. It was the perusal of that report which led to our knowing or caring any thing about the author. So that it was truly his own labours which led us to feel an interest in the man, and not any previous knowledge of the man that influenced us to take an interest in his labours. On some other vital subjects, unconnected with Khond affairs, it might soon be found, that opinions were conscientiously entertained which might seem to be irreconcilably at variance. But we should be ashamed of the petty littleness of mind, or the one-sided partiality of partizanship, that would prevent us from perceiving or acknowledging the real merits of any individual's measures and achievements in one grand and important department of observation and experiment, merely because in some other department of speculation, doctrine, or practice, there might be found between us the widest difference of judgment.

In the lengthened statements and extracts which we have furnished, our readers have been provided with ample means of forming their own judgment of Captain Macpherson's original plans and operations. And our earnest monition is, that, as a simple act of justice, they may not suffer their honestly formed views of the essential merits of these, to be obfuscated by the dust and smoke which unhappy controversy has succeeded in raising about his more recent proceedings. Whatever may be the character of the latter—and we have no reason to suppose them materially different—they cannot and ought not to be allowed retrospectively to affect the clearly defined and intelligible character of the former. How the controversy which of late has enveloped the public mind in a dense and lurid gloom of uncertainty and doubt, may have originated, it is not for us

to determine; seeing that some of the predisposing and collateral circumstances are not as yet very explicable, and others, we fear, not very creditable to the jealous and intermeddling parties concerned. But that any controversy of the sort should have so unseasonably risen at all on such a subject, is deeply to be deplored. And still more is it to be deplored that a course of events, which promised so successful an issue, should have taken the disastrous turn it has done, in consequence of contemporaneous local troubles, most of which, though wholly unconnected with the main work of the Khond Agency, yet came to be untowardly blended and confounded with it. Whether there has been in reality any departure from that wise and judicious line of policy and action which secured the unanimous approbation of Lord Elphinstone and his council, remains to be seen. Our own decided impression is, that there has not. But, as the whole subject has now been submitted to the investigation of a high minded and honourable man; and as his report will doubtless be, in due time, submitted to the consideration of judges as high-minded and honorable as himself, we deem it in every way more expedient to await their decision. Meanwhile, as regards the result in its more immediate bearing on the official credit, conduct, and character of the Agent, we know no valid ground for fear, or misgivings. What we do fear, is, lest—as the inevitable effect of unpleasant feelings excited by angry controversy, and the consequent distraction of attention, diversion of energy, and deadening of awakened interest,—the great philanthropic cause itself should be seriously damaged and lost, in the estimation of the public, and even of government itself. But, let us hope better things. Let us hope that neither the public nor the government will allow themselves to forget the bright and glorious object that lies athwart and beyond the murky atmosphere in which, for a time, it has been shrouded from the general view. Let them not forget that the cries of miserable victims, constantly offered in hecatombs to propitiate a bloody and cruel deity are still ringing in their ears,—and that, with the cries of these slaughtered adults—slaughtered and torn to pieces alive with a ferocity which, in the comparison, might prove the savage cannibalism\* of New Zealand to be very mildness—there mingle the still more piercing cries of thousands of hapless innocents untimely slain.† Let them not forget the aggravated and affecting circumstance, that it is

\* See *Calcutta Review*, No. IX. p. 63.

† See *Calcutta Review*, No. IX. p. 32-3-4.

not on "the farthest verge of this green earth," in "distant barbarous climes," or along the unvisited banks of "rivers unknown to song,"—that these horrible monstrosities are daily and even hourly perpetrated. No; it is in the centre of India, so renowned for its ancient sages and legislators, its ancient arts and sciences, its ancient civilization and vauntingly humane institutions—yea, in the centre of *British* India, and within sight of the seats of British supremacy, British Magistracy, British Justice, British Benevolence, and British Law! Of the Romans, Pagan though they were, it has been remarked that they "deserved well of human nature for making it an article in their treaty with the Carthaginians, that they should abstain from sacrificing their children to the gods." Let it be the glory of Imperial Britain,—Christian as she is, or professes, and ought to be—to deserve still better of human nature, by not only emulating, but immeasurably surpassing, the highest philanthropy of Ancient Rome. Already has she interposed, with happiest effect, through the instrumentality of her Viceroy and their Agents, in vindicating the cause of suffering humanity, and in putting an end to the shedding of torrents of innocent blood. Duncan and his co-adjutors laid the foundation of a system for the abolition of the fearfully extensive practice of Infanticide in the Rajput States. The Marquis of Wellesley put an effectual stop to the periodical massacre of little infants, who were wont to be thrown by their infatuated mothers, in fulfilment of religious vows, into the turbid waters of Gunga Sagar, to be there devoured by the alligators and other monsters of the deep. Lord William Bentinck extinguished those cruel funeral piles that were wont to blaze in thousands over the plains of Hindustan,—awful piles, on which lay stretched the putrid corpse of the father and the living body of the mother,—and around them standing, the poor hapless children—not to excite the yearnings of a mother's compassion by their sobs and wailings—not to quench the devouring flames with their tears—but,—let humanity shudder!—in the name of their gods to apply the torch, that, in a moment, was to leave them fatherless motherless orphans in a friendless world! For Lord Hardinge, our best wishes are, that, ere he lay down the insignia of the mightiest viceroyalty under the sun, he may be privileged to witness another noble triumph to the cause of humanity and religion, in the infliction of a final death-blow on the horrible and sanguinary superstitions of Khondistan. And for Imperial Britain our wishes rise higher still. It was the boast of the greatest of the Cæsars, that, having found Rome

brick, he left it marble. But for Britain our prayer is, that ere she drop the most potent sceptre ever wielded over these Indian realms, she may be enabled to take up the language, not of boastfulness, but of gratitude to the God of Providence, for the successful discharge of her delegated trust, and say ;— I found India one wide and universal scene of anarchy and misrule ; I left it one peaceful and consolidated empire ;—I found its people ground down by the most frightful oppression, its industry paralysed, and person and property exposed to the assaults of lawless violence and the invasion of every ruffian plunderer ; I left its people exempt from the multitudinous exactions of covetousness and wrong, its industry revived and augmented in productiveness a hundred fold, person and property secure, from the improvement of individual, domestic and social morals, and the uniform administration of equitable law ;—I found India lying prostrate beneath the yoke of blinding ignorance and brutifying superstition ; I left her joyfully recovered from the double yoke—revivified by the kindling beams of fairest science, and the revelations of Heaven's own illumining Truth :—I found India, the chosen habitation of the most horrid cruelties that ever polluted the earth, or disgraced the the family of man ; I left her as the most favoured domain and dwelling place of righteousness, benevolence and peace :—

“ Be these thy trophies, Queen of many isles !  
 On these high heaven shall shed indulgent smiles.  
 First by thy guardian voice to India led,  
 Shall truth divine her tearless victories spread ;  
 Wide and more wide the heaven-born light shall stream,  
 New realms from thee shall catch the blissful theme,  
 Unwonted warmth the softened savage feel,  
 Strange chiefs admire, and turban'd warriors kneel,  
 The prostrate east submit her jewell'd pride,  
 And swarthy kings adore the Crucified.  
 Yes, it shall come ! Ev'n now my eyes behold,  
 In distant view, the wish'd for age unfold.  
 Lo, o'er the shadowy days that roll between,  
 A wand'ring gleam foretells th' ascending scene !  
 Oh, doom'd victorious from thy wounds to rise,  
 Dejected India, lift thy downcast eyes,  
 And mark the hour, whose faithful steps for thee,  
 Through Time's press'd ranks bring on the Jubilee !”

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- ART. II.—1. *Papers on subjects connected with the duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers. Vol. II., London 1838. (On Hurricanes, by Lieut. Col. Reid, R. E.)*
2. *An attempt to develop the LAW OF STORMS by means of facts, arranged according to place and time; and hence to point out a cause for the variable winds, with the view to practical use in Navigation, illustrated by charts and woodcuts. Second edition, with additions. By Lieut. Colonel W. Reid, C. B., F. R. S. (of the Royal Engineers.) London 1841.*
3. *An Enquiry into the nature and course of Storms in the Indian Ocean, south of the Equator, with a view of discovering their origin, extent, rotatory character, rate and direction of progression, barometric depression, and other concomitant phenomena; for the practical purpose of enabling ships to ascertain the proximity and relative position of hurricanes; with suggestions on the means of avoiding them. By Alexander Thom, Surgeon 86th, (Royal County Down) Regt. London 1845.*
4. *Journal of the Asiatic Society, (Ten Memoirs on Storms, by Capt. Piddington.)*
5. *The Horn-Book of Storms for the Indian and China Seas. By Henry Piddington, Sub-Secretary to the Asiatic Society, and Curator of the Museum of Economic Geology of India. Calcutta 1844.*

STORMS AND HURRICANES! Surely we "ought to consider with ourselves; to bring in storms and hurricanes among our readers, is a most dreadful thing; for there is not a more dreadful wild-fowl than your hurricane living, and we ought to look to it." We must therefore, we opine, "write us a prologue, saying thus, or to the same defect, ladies or fair ladies, we would wish you, or we would request you, or we would entreat you, not to fear, not to tremble;—our life for yours. If you think we come hither as a hurricane, it were pity of our life." Such is a Shaksperian version of a scene that was, or might have been, enacted in our deliberative Council. But seriously; although undoubtedly there be nothing more terrific to the imagination than the "war of elements," there is yet one thing which, to our thinking, is more fearful in the endurance, more horrid in the remembrance, and the recurrence of which will be more earnestly deprecated by those who have once experienced both; and that is a dead and long-continued calm.

One, accordingly, who was no stranger to the mechanism of human feelings and affections and passions, when he would depict to us the full unmitigated horrors of the sea, never dreamt of setting before us the lightning's flash and the thunder's roar, masts in splinters and sails in ribands, "waves mountain high," and troughs deep as yawning caverns. He knew well that in the midst of the elemental strife there is earnest and intense excitement, and that wherever there is excitement, there is life,—troubled, tossed, agonized life if you will,—but still active, hopeful life. Coleridge could have delineated the storm, as Virgil and Falconer and a host of others had done before him, and as an inferior "artist" would certainly have done in carrying out the design of the *Ancient Mariner*; but no delineation of such a scene could have come within reach of the concentrated horror of these lines, which once read, can never be rooted out of the memory:—

Down dropt the breeze, the sails dropt down,  
 'Twas sad as sad could be;  
 And we did speak only to break  
 The silence of the sea.

All in a hot and copper sky  
 The bloody sun, at noon,  
 Right up above the mast did stand,  
 No bigger than the moon.

Day after day, day after day,  
 We stuck, nor breath nor motion;  
 As idle as a painted ship  
 Upon a painted ocean.

Water, water every where,  
 And all the boards did shrink:  
 Water, water every where,  
 Nor any drop to drink.

The very deep did rot; Alas!  
 That ever this should be;  
 Yea slimy things did crawl with legs  
 Upon the slimy sea.

About, about, in reel and rout,  
 The death-fires danced at night;  
 The water, like a witch's oils,  
 Burnt green, and blue and white.

And every tongue, through utter drought,  
 Was withered at the root:  
 We could not speak, no more than if  
 We had been choked with soot.

Then passed a weary time. Each throat  
 Was parched, and glazed each eye.  
 A weary time ! a weary time !  
 How glazed each weary eye !

But if there be, as we hold there is, in the very nature of our mental constitution, a ground of preference of the storm to the calm, this preference is greatly enhanced, by the important truth involved in the title of one of the works now under review ;—THE LAW OF STORMS. This title is no vain assumption ; for it is a plain fact that those laws which have been prescribed to the hurricane by Him who “walketh on the wings of the wind,” have at last been discovered by men ; and that we have now the prospect of being able to render in all cases comparatively harmless, and in many even useful, that which has so often made “the timid shriek and the brave stand still,” and has consigned so many thousands of our fellows to their last resting-place in the mighty deep, “unknelled, unconfined and unknown.”

The history of philosophy during the last two centuries has been a continual comment upon the dicta on which Lord Bacon laid the foundation of newly organized science, *that nature is to be overcome only by obeying her*, and that *that which is in contemplation a cause, becomes in practice a rule*. We say not that Bacon was the first to make such discoveries as these. Indeed we know not that there ever was a time when any man was ignorant of the fact that nature could be made his servant just so far as he would be hers, and that his purposes could be effected only in accordance with her methods. No man, we suppose, ever thought of floating himself over a river by laying hold of a mass of lead or iron. The *σχολαστικος* who is represented as having laid hold of the anchor in a shipwreck is an object of ridicule to every school-boy. But while Bacon did not *discover* the principle on which he has reared the sublime structure of his *Magna Instauratio*, he is fairly entitled to the scarcely inferior credit of having been the first to direct the attention of mankind to it as *the one principle* which is to be the director and guide of all their researches and all their operations. It is to a faithful abidance by this principle that we owe those great discoveries which adorn and bless our age. Nature had for centuries employed the power of heat in causing the sudden and violent expansion of certain substances ; and had, by means of the mighty power thence accruing, overwhelmed cities, and even shaken the foundations of the everlasting hills. As dutiful scholars we obeyed her as our teacher ; we learned the lesson from her ; we became

possessed of her secret; by obedience we conquered her; and now that same power is subject to our control. It conveys ourselves and our goods over land and sea, raises the mineral treasures from the depths of the earth, and aids us in all our operations, from the most ordinary of our daily domestic avocations, ~~up, (or shall we say down?)~~ to the greatest of our national undertakings. This same Nature had a little page, a dapper sprite was he and a nimble; from the beginning of the world he had been employed as her messenger in all matters that required more than winged speed. His name was *lightning* then. We cast an eye of covetousness on this little slave. We obeyed the mistress to her subjugation, and the slave also was transferred to us. He wears our livery now; and speeds along his wiry path, bearing our messages of information and enquiry and congratulation. We have given him the name of *Electricity*.

It is very worthy of observation that one of the first subjects to which Lord Bacon applied his newly fabricated instrument of investigation seems to have been *the wind*. We are not aware of the date of the composition of the *Historia Ventorum*; but in the collective editions of his works it is only separated from the *Novum Organum* by one short tract. We know not how we can more properly introduce our subject, (for we must acknowledge that we have been but trifling hitherto, and have not introduced it yet), than by transcribing the opening paragraph of this work, in which he sets forth the importance of the subject, and the difficulties of the investigation.

“Venti humanæ genti alas addiderunt. Eorum enim dono  
 ‘feruntur homines et volant; non per aërem certe, sed per  
 ‘maria; atque ingens patet janua commercii, et fit mundus  
 ‘pervius. Terræ autem (quæ gentis humanæ sedes est et  
 ‘domicilium) scopæ sunt; eamque, atque simul aërem ipsum,  
 ‘everrunt et mundant. Attamen et mare infamant, alioqui  
 ‘tranquillum et innoxium; neque alias sine maleficio sunt.  
 ‘Motum, absque opera humana, cient magnum et vehementem;  
 ‘unde et ad navigandum et ad molendum, velut operarii, con-  
 ‘ducti sunt: et ad multo plura adhiberi possunt, si humana non  
 ‘cesset diligentia. Natura ipsorum inter secreta et abdita reponi  
 ‘solet: nec mirum, cum nec aëris natura et potestas cognita  
 ‘quoquo modo sit, cui famulantur ac parasitantur venti, ut  
 ‘(apud poetas) *Aeolus Junoni*. *Primariæ creaturæ non sunt,*  
 ‘*nec ex operibus sex dierum: quemadmodum nec reliqua*  
 ‘*meteora quoad actum, sed post-nati ex ordine creationis.*” \*

\* The winds have added wings to the human race. For by their favor men are borne along and fly; not indeed through the air, but over the seas; and the great



We cannot but regard it as also in the highest degree worthy of remark, that Bacon, in a sentence, lays down for enquiry the very question whose investigation has led, after the lapse of more than two centuries, to the discovery of that law by which a great and important class of the winds, (*that class whose province it is, maria infamare*) is regulated.—“Cum progressus sit semper a termino, de loco primi ortus, et tanquam fontibus alicujus venti, quantum fieri potest, diligenter inquirito. Siquidem videntur venti famæ similes. Nam licet tumultuentur et pereurrant, tamen caput inter nubila condunt. Item de progressu ipso; exempli gratia, si Boreas vehemens qui flaverit Eboraci ad talem diem aut horam, flaverit Londini, biduo post.”\* This question seems to comprise the germ of the whole subject; and however it might be answered in regard to the ordinary land-winds that blow at York and London, it is clearly and decidedly shewn with respect to that particular class of winds called hurricanes, that they do not progress in a direct line, but with a rapid motion of rotation, combined with a comparatively slow motion of translation. In fact the motion of the air in such a storm seems to differ little from that of a common spinning-top.

Ceu quondam torto volitans sub verberè turbo  
 Quem pueri magno in gyro vacua atria circum  
 Intenti ludo exercent. Ille actus habena  
 Curvatis fertur spatibus: stupet inscisa turba  
 Impubesque manus, mirata volubile buxum:  
 Dant animos plagæ.†

gate of commerce is opened, and a highway is established over the world. They are further the cleansers (*ad. lit.*, the besoms) of the earth, (which is the abode and house of the human family,) and they sweep and cleanse it, and at the same time the air itself. Yet they produce evil effects on the sea, which were else calm and innocuous. Nor are they in other respects harmless. They excite great and violent motion, without any labor of man; hence they are engaged as our workmen, both for propelling our ships, and turning our mills; and they may yet by the care of man, be employed in many other works. Their nature is generally considered to be among the secret and hidden things: and no wonder, since the nature and power of the air, whose servants and attendants the winds are, (as according to the poets Æolus was of Juno) are by no means ascertained. They are not primary creatures, nor of the work of the six days, as neither are other meteors as regards their action; but they are derived from the order of creation.

\* Since motion always begins from a terminus, let diligent enquiry be made, so far as is possible, respecting the place of first origin, and as it were the fountain, of any wind. For indeed the winds seem to be like rumor. Like her they rage and run, but like her they hide their heads in the clouds. Also regarding the progress of the winds; as, for example, whether a strong north wind which blows at a certain day and hour at York, blow two days after at London.

† And as young striplings whip the top for sport  
 On the smooth pavement of an empty court,  
 The wooden engine flies and whirls about,  
 Admired, with clamours of the beardless rout;  
 They lash aloud, each other they provoke,  
 And lend their little souls to every stroke.—*Dryden*

In one important respect however the motion of the hurricane will differ from that of the top. The latter, being a compact and solid body, moves *en masse*, around its axis; consequently while the axis itself is at rest, every point is in more or less rapid motion, in proportion to its distance from the centre, so that the extreme circumference moves most rapidly of all. The air on the other hand being a fluid, it is evident that if any portion of it be put into rapid rotation, the centrifugal force will cause the moving portion to fly off from the axis. This still retaining its circular motion, will by friction put into motion the surrounding air, but will by the same means lose a portion of its own motion, so that the moving mass will be constantly enlarging, but the rate of the motion of the external portion will be less than that of the internal. There will, as in the case of the spinning-top, be a place of rest; (theoretically a point, but practically a space of greater or less area) in the very centre; but around that the motion will be more violent near the centre than towards the extremities of the radii.

The theory of the rotatory, combined with the progressive, motion of this class of storms, is not new; but till a few years ago it existed rather in the form of a conjecture or hypothesis than in that of a theory established by extensive induction. It seems to have been Mr. Redfield, of New York, that first gave it a definite form; and we regret that we have not been able to include his various works in the list at the head of this article. Col. Reid is entitled to the greatest possible credit for the untiring assiduity with which he has prosecuted the investigation, by means of which he has established beyond a doubt the prevalence of the law. Mr. Thom has done good service by applying the key furnished by Col. Reid to the explanation of the hurricanes that occur with such frequency and with such disastrous effects in and around the Mauritius. And Mr. Piddington has well earned the best thanks of the community by the indefatigable industry and skill with which he has investigated the course of a vast number of storms in the Indian seas. But we must claim for our townsman a higher praise than that of having merely followed in the wake of Col. Reid. Being, so far as we know, the first practical sailor who has taken up with zeal the investigation of the subject, he has treated it in a far more practical manner than either of the other writers whose works are before us; and has done more than either of them towards rendering the theory of immediate use to the navigator.

It would be very difficult with charts and diagrams, and we

fear quite impossible without them, to give our readers a clear idea of the analytical process by which the investigations which have led to the conclusion we have stated have been conducted. It will be much easier, and we believe much better for our purpose, to adopt the synthetic method, and to shew what must be the nature of the phenomena, provided the law obtain; and then every one will be able to understand, from the connexion thus established between the law and the phenomena, how the former may be inferred by inductive analysis from the latter.

Let us then, to avoid complication, proceed step by step and in the first instance leave out of view altogether the progressive motion, or, as we have already called it, the motion of translation; and let us conceive a stationary whirlwind. Its motion, with the exception that we have already pointed out, will be analogous to that of a spinning-top in the state in which, so far as our recollection of our school-boy days serves us, we were accustomed to say that it was "asleep." In this case it will appear that there ought to be in the very centre of the vortex a point of perfect repose. Now supposing the wind to revolve in the direction of E. N. W. S., or in the opposite direction to that of the hands of a watch, it is clear that at the different points within the range of the whirlwind the following will be the direction of the wind:—

|   |   |   |                 |
|---|---|---|-----------------|
| At every point in a line drawn from the centre to the North, there will be an East wind |   |   |                 |
| "   | " | " | N. E. " S. E. " |
| "   | " | " | E. " S. "       |
| "   | " | " | S. E. " S. W. " |
| "   | " | " | S. " W. "       |
| "   | " | " | S. W. " N. W. " |
| "   | " | " | W. " N. "       |
| "   | " | " | N. W. " N. E. " |

This depends upon the simple property of the circle, that its tangent at any point is at right angles to the line joining that point and the centre. Thus far then all is perfectly clear.

Let us next introduce the element of progressive motion, and we shall render the matter as simple as we possibly can. We shall suppose that the storm moves in a straight line from East to West. In this case it will appear, that an object remaining stationary will, as the storm passes over it, at different times during its continuance, be differently situated with respect to the centre, and will consequently experience different winds. More particularly, it will appear that an object situated due West from the centre will first of all be assailed by a North wind, which will constantly increase in violence, retaining its direction unchanged, until the centre of the storm comes over the object, when there will suddenly

be a dead calm. After this has continued for a longer or shorter time, the wind will spring up with great violence from the south, and its direction will remain unchanged, while its violence gradually abates, until the storm has passed quite over. An object to the North West of the centre will first of all be struck by the storm in the form of a North East wind, which will gradually encrease in violence, and at the same time decline towards the South, until the centre of the storm be due South of the object, when the wind will be right East. It will then gradually moderate, still southing in its direction, until, when the storm is passing off, it will blow from the South East. A body due North of the centre at the commencement will experience only half of the storm, and will have an East wind at first, which will gradually decline towards the South, until it will pass off as a South East wind, if the object be just mid-way between the centre and the extremity of the storm, with more southing if it be nearer the centre, and less if it be nearer the extremity. An object to the North East of the centre at the commencement will have the storm begin at South East, and become more and more southerly. Last of all, an object to the East of the centre at the commencement will have a steady South wind throughout the continuance of the storm. Objects in the intermediate radii of the hurricane will have intermediate winds; and the experience in the other semicircle, or that to the South of the centre, will be just the reverse of that which we have described as appertaining to the northern semicircle.

Thus far the phenomena are stated by Col. Reid and the other writers whose works are under review. They are in effect those from which the law or theory has been deduced; and in stating them we have only endeavoured to translate their language into that of non-professional men, and to compensate for the lack of diagrams by somewhat more lengthened description. We suspect however that there ought to be another class of phenomena observable, which seems to have escaped their notice. If the whirlwind indeed were propagated progressively like a wave, by mere excitation, without any local conveyance of the air in its progressive motion, then the view already given would be complete. But if, (as we cannot doubt is the fact) there is an actual conveyance of the same air from one point to another in the line of the storm's course, then it will appear that another element, which may be of considerable importance, will be introduced into the case. Every one now knows, or ought to know, that the motion of an ordinary wave is one of mere undulation, and not at all of translation

or conveyance; that is to say, that the water is merely raised and depressed alternately, but that the same water which constitutes one wave does not constitute that which appears next in advance of it, any appearance to the contrary being referable only to optical deception. But we have not heard of its being supposed, nor can we conceive any reason whatsoever for supposing, that there is any thing analogous to this in the motion of the wind in a storm. On the contrary we see no reason to doubt, that as in the rotatory motion of the storm there is unquestionably an actual transference of the air, and which is indeed the essential element of the very definition of wind, so in the progression of the storm there is an actual and real transference of the air, each particle driving on that in advance of it, and occupying its place for an instant, until it in its turn is displaced and driven on by the next. In fact, while we have spoken, for the sake of convenience, of the motion of rotation and that of progression as two separate and distinct motions, there can be no doubt that what actually occurs in nature is a single motion compounded of these two elements. We may regard it as certain that a particle of air does not describe a circle round a fixed centre, and then proceed *per saltum* into the circumference of another circle to be described around another fixed centre; but that in reality it describes a figure of which any small portion may, without material error, be regarded as a portion of a circle, but which is strictly speaking a spiral or trochoid. If then it be so that every particle of air is not only at every instant revolving around the centre of the hurricane, but at every instant also advancing in the line of the hurricane's course, it will follow that this motion will constitute a wind in the direction of the storm's course, which will modify that which is due to the rotation, rendering it more violent when it coincides with it, and less violent when it opposes it, and modifying both its direction and intensity, according to the ordinary principle of the composition of forces, when it crosses it at any angle.

Thus in the case we have supposed, of a storm rotating in the direction E. N. W. S., and progressing westward, we should expect to find that the winds would all be somewhat more easterly than we have hitherto supposed. Thus at a place in the E. and W. diameter of the storm, we should expect that the wind would not be exactly from the North in the one half of the storm and from the South in the other, but that it would be perhaps N. b. E. and S. b. E.

It is evident that this will be of considerable importance practically in determining the position of the centre at any given

time, which is one of the great problems for the solution of which the law is available. It is clear that it should also follow from this view of the matter, that the wind ought to be more violent in the one-half of the circle than in the other. In the case supposed, for example, all the winds produced by the rotation have in their direction an easterly element in the northern semicircle, and a westerly in the southern, while along the east-and-west diameter, they are purely North and South. Now the wind produced by the progression of the storm being, in the case supposed, from the East, it must coincide with the easterly element of those produced by the rotation, and oppose the westerly element so produced. It must therefore encrease the intensity of all the winds in the northern semicircle, and diminish that of those in the southern.

We cannot doubt that this effect is real; but it may be, and probably is, very small in amount, because of the slowness of the progression as compared with the rotation. Mr. Piddington however gives an instance in which the progressive motion of a hurricane is reported to have been as rapid as thirty-nine miles per hour, although he states that this is so far beyond the average rate, that we suspects there may have been some mistake. Mr. Thom again states, that the common opinion as to the rate of the rotatory motion is that it is about 100 miles per hour, but this he regards as far too low an estimate. We must admit, therefore, that these numbers are of little value; since those who give them both protest that they err on that side which is most favorable to our argument. If, however, we suppose for a moment that they may be correct, and that a hurricane may have a rotatory motion not exceeding 100 miles an hour, and a progressive motion not short of thirty-nine miles in the same time, then it will appear that the latter must very materially modify the effects due to the former, encreasing the violence of the hurricane in one semicircle and diminishing it in the other, and altering the direction of the winds in both. But if, instead of supposing the velocity of the progressive motion to be four-tenths of that of the rotatory, we suppose it only two-tenths, or one-fifth, we shall still have a very considerable force, sufficient, as we should suppose, to render the difference in the two semicircles fully perceptible.

But be this as it may, the facts collected with amazing diligence by Col. Reid, Mr. Thom, and Captain Piddington, (and as we learn from the frequent references to his labours, by Mr. Redfield) fully establish the law, that great storms or hurricanes always combine a rotatory with a progressive

motion. This law is thus briefly stated by Captain Piddington:—

“The present state of our knowledge shews, that, for the West Indies, the Bay of Bengal, China Sea, and the Southern Indian Ocean, the wind in a hurricane has two motions, the one a turning or veering round upon a centre, and the other a straight or curved motion forwards; so that like a great whirlwind it is both turning round, and as it were, rolling forward at the same time. It appears also, that it turns, when it occurs on the north side of the equator, from the east, or the right hand, by the north, towards the west, or *contrary* to the hands of a watch; and in the southern hemisphere, that its motion is the other way, or *with* the hands of a watch; being thus, as expressed by Professor Dove of Berlin, S. E. N. W. for the northern hemisphere and N. E. S. W. for the southern hemisphere, if we begin at the right hand, or east side of the circles.”

The course of storms in their progressive motions is always in a westerly direction, and we think we find from the statements of Capt. Piddington, and Mr. Thom, that they manifest a tendency to recede from the equator, the prevailing courses in the northern hemisphere having a northward element, and those in the southern a southward element combined with the common westward element. There is not however any thing more than an approach to uniformity on this point. In regard to those in the Bay of Bengal, Capt. Piddington has found that “from E. S. E. to W. N. W. will be found an average track,” nor does he mention any whose course made a greater angle to the southward with their parallel of latitude than a single point, the course that has the greatest degree of southing being in a line from E. b. N. to W. b. S. In the China sea, however, he states that in September and November a frequent course is to the south westward.

It is of the greatest possible importance for the practical purposes of navigation that the prevailing tracks of storms should be determined with the utmost possible precision. The navigator can at once determine, from the phenomena around him, what is the direction of the rotation of a storm in which he has the misfortune to be involved; but he has no means of determining with equal accuracy the course in which it is progressing. He may indeed see in some cases the direction in which it approaches him; but this can never give more than a vague approach to accuracy. For the rest he must be left to the valuation of probabilities; and these, it appears, may be trusted with little danger in the Bay of Bengal, and

to a considerable extent also in the Indian ocean. But so great is the importance of the subject that no opportunity should be lost of examining the course of every storm that occurs, and every voice should be listened to that may by any chance "prate of its whereabouts."

We have already alluded to the rate of progression of storms, which is also a question of the greatest possible moment. "As far as our present knowledge extends," (says Captain Piddington,) "it would appear that the rates at which the storms move onwards on their tracks vary much, being by tolerably accurate data,

"In the Bay of Bengal from 3 to 39\* miles per hour.

"In the China Sea               " 7 " 24 "               "               "

There would be no great difficulty in determining this question with mathematical accuracy, provided we had a sufficient number of observations made on each individual storm. But as we cannot always have a ship just in every place where we should like one to be on the occurrence of a storm, it is possible, we think, that the rates are not yet fully determined. One determination given by Mr. Thom seems to us of a very satisfactory kind, but as it was made on land, it is not impossible that its result may not be equally applicable to the course of the storm over the open sea. As it casts light on another point of much interest and importance, viz. the extent of the space of central repose, we shall extract it in full; observing only that it is fully substantiated by a table:—

"It appears that at Port Louis, about 4 P. M.† on the 10th (April 1840) the S. E. part of the gale had begun to moderate, and by 5 A. M. there was a dead calm, which lasted till 9 A. M., when the gale recommenced from the N. E. to the N. W. and by 10 A. M. the wind was blowing a perfect tempest. At Somillac, twenty-one miles to the Southward, the S. E. storm was at its height and lasted till 10 A. M. The calm only set in at Somillac, about four or five hours after its appearance at Port Louis, and continued from 10 A. M. till 2 P. M. as we have described, at the very time when the N. W. part of the storm was raging at the latter place in its full strength, and throwing the vessels in the harbour on shore. Hence it may be inferred that the diameter of the calm extended from one place to the other; and as its

\* "This high rate of thirty-nine miles an hour, however, occurs but in one case: from 3 to 15 may be taken as the more usual limit."

† So in the text; but from what follows, as well as from the table, it appears that it is a misprint for A. M.



‘ Northern margin, or after part, had left Port Louis, its interior edge commenced passing over Somillac; and being four hours in passing over the distance in question, it may be fairly computed that its motion was not more than four or five miles an hour.”

“ Of course it is not possible to define the total cessation of the gale to a few minutes, nor it is likely that the exact centre of the calm passed over either place; for in conformity with its ordinary course, it most likely passed between them, and thus, little nicety in the results can be arrived at. Still, the fact of a four hour’s calm at one place, ending almost to a moment as it commenced at another, twenty-one miles distant, must be received, in connexion with similar phenomena in other storms, as a distinctive feature of rotatory gales. In the present case it also conveys something like an approach to accuracy in the rate of daily progression of a storm in Lat.  $20^{\circ}$  S. and of its direction to the Southward. Its slow progress, after passing the island, is confirmed by notes from the log of a vessel to the S. W. of it at the time.”

It would lead us far beyond our limits were we to attempt any explication of the theories assigned by different writers of the causes which go to the production of these rotatory gales. Those who take an interest in philosophical meteorology may be referred to the work of Mr. Thom, who alone of all the writers before us, undertakes the task of reasoning as to their causes. In our estimation he treats the subject well, as knowing the great difficulty that attaches to all enquiries of this kind, and as imbued in no inconsiderable degree with the true spirit of the Baconian philosophy.

More in accordance with our present purpose it is to direct the attention of our readers to the importance of severally lending their aid to the perfecting of the accumulation of knowledge in regard to the winds. If one gentleman at each station in India would take the trouble to record observations, which can be made with very little trouble and no expense, an amount of information would be soon accumulated which could not fail to be useful. On this subject we cannot do better than submit a long extract from an excellent paper of practical instructions as to the making and recording of meteorological observations, drawn up by Sir J. F. W. Herschel for the ‘ South African Literary and Philosophical Institution,’ and published amongst the Professional Papers of the Royal Engineers:—

“ The great importance of possessing an exact and carefully registered

account of the variations of the barometer, thermometer, and other meteorological instruments, and of the winds and weather, throughout that extensive region of the southern hemisphere, which is either included within the boundaries of this colony,\* or readily accessible from it, has determined the South African Literary and Philosophical Institution to request the assistance of its correspondents, and of all who may have leisure and inclination for observations of the kind, towards the gradual accumulation of a continued and extensive series of Meteorological Journals, and towards carrying into effect a concerted plan of contemporaneous observations, on stated days, from which it is conceived that much advantage will be derived. The institution therefore solicits the attention of its correspondents, and of the lovers of knowledge generally, to this object; and earnestly requests their co-operation in making, arranging, and forwarding to its secretary, resident in Cape Town, observations of the nature, and so far as practicable, according to the plan of those hereafter detailed. Such observations alone can furnish the materials necessary for an accurate and scientific inquiry into the laws of *climate*, regarded as an object of local interest, and are the only data through which (taken in conjunction with the known laws of physics) the more general relations of meteorology can be successfully investigated.

It can scarcely be necessary to insist on the practical importance of this science to the agriculturist, to the navigator, and indeed in every branch of human affairs, or to dilate on the benefits which must accrue to mankind in general, from any successful attempts to subject to reasonable and well-grounded prediction, the irregular and seemingly capricious course of the seasons and the winds; or on the advantages, purely scientific, which must arise from a systematic development of laws, exemplified on the great scale in the periodical changes of the atmosphere, depending as they do on the agency of all the most influential elements, and embracing in their scope every branch of physical science. It is more to the present purpose to observe that, from what has already been done in this department of human knowledge, there is every reason to hope that no very distant period may put us in possession of the key to many of the most intricate meteorological phenomena, and enable us, though not to predict with certainty the state of the weather at any given time and place, yet at least to form something like a probable conjecture as to what will be the general course of the next ensuing season; perhaps to prepare us beforehand for violent and long continued gales of wind, great drought, or extraordinary wet seasons, &c., in the same manner that our knowledge of the nature and laws of the tides, although confessedly imperfect, and in great measure empirical, yet enables us to announce beforehand, unusually high or low tides. No doubt such predictions of the weather, although only of a probable nature, would be highly valuable and useful, and would materially influence the practice of men in all operations thereon depending. In illustration of this, we need only refer to the value set by many farmers and others on weather-tables founded on no sound principles, and ratified at best, if at all, only by a very partial and limited experience; or to choose a better instance, we may cite the importance which is now attached by every seaman to the indications of the barometer, and the numerous cases with which nautical records abound, of great mischief, or even shipwreck, avoided by timely attention to its warnings.

\* Cape of Good Hope.

Meteorology, however, is one of the most complicated of all the physical sciences, and that in which it is necessary to spread our observations over the greatest extent of territory, and the greatest variety of local and geographical position. It is only by accumulating data from the most distant quarters, and by comparing the affections of the atmosphere at the same instant at different points, and at the same point at different moments, that it is possible to arrive at distinct and useful conclusions.

Hence arises the necessity of procuring regular series of observations made on a uniform system, and comparable with themselves and with each other, by observers at different stations, and of multiplying the points of observation as much as possible over the interior surface of continents, along sea coasts, in islands, and in the open ocean.

\* \* \* \* \*

As these pages may fall into the hands of many who have been little in the habit of observing systematically, or who may not be in the possession of instruments of the nicest construction, attention to the following instructions is recommended as the means of rendering their observations most available for useful purposes, and comparable with each other, and with those intended to be referred to as standards.

### *General Recommendations and Precautions.*

1. The continuity of observations ought to be interrupted as little as possible by changes in the adjustments of instruments, in their places, exposure, mode of fixing, or of reading off and registering them. Whenever any alteration in these or any other particulars takes place, especially such as are likely to affect the zero points, or otherwise to influence the mean results, it should be noticed in the register.

2. So far as possible registers should be complete; but if by unavoidable circumstance of absence, or from other causes, blanks occur, no attempt to fill them up by general recollection, or by the apparent course of the numbers before and after, should ever be made.

3. The observations should, if possible, all be made by one person; but as this may often be impracticable, the principal observer should take care to instruct one or more of his family how to do it, and should satisfy himself by many trials that they observe alike.

4. The entries in the register should be made at the time of observation, and the numbers entered should be those actually read off on the respective scales of each instrument, on no account applying to them previous to entry any sort of correction; as for instance, for zero, for temperature, capillarity, &c. All these and the like corrections, being matter of calculation and reasoning from other observations, are to be reserved till the final discussion of the series, and for separate determination and statement.

5. If copies be taken of the registers, they should be carefully compared with the originals by two persons, one reading aloud from the original and the other attending to the copy, and then exchanging parts, a process always advisable wherever great masses of figures are required to be correctly copied.

6. A copy so verified, or the original, (the latter being preferred) should be transmitted regularly (if possible monthly from places within the limits

of the colony) to the Secretary of the South African Literary and Philosophical Society, at Cape Town; which institution, on its part, will take care that such documents shall not merely be treasured as a dead letter in its archives, but shall be rendered available towards the improvement of meteorological knowledge, to the full extent of their actual scientific value.

7. The register of every instrument should be kept in parts of its own scale, as read off, no reduction of foreign measures or degrees to British being made: but it should of course be stated what scale is used in each instrument.

### *Of the Times of Observation and Registry.*

Meteorological observations should be made and registered daily, at stated and regular hours. In fixing on those, some sacrifice of system must of necessity be made to the convenience and habits of the observer. The best hours in a scientific point of view would be those of sunrise, noon, sunset, and midnight, and those are the hours for which the registers are kept at the Royal Observatory. But these are not the hours adapted to general habits; and since the midnight observation is likely to be pretty generally neglected elsewhere than in an astronomical observatory, the following hours, for a division of the day into three parts, are proposed for what may be deemed the morning, after-noon and evening observations, viz :—

Morning, 8 A. M.—Afternoon, 2 P. M.—Evening, 8 P. M.

If however the habits or engagements of any one should not allow him to conform to those hours, rather than not observe he may select his own, specifying only what they are at the head of every page of his register, and adhering steadily to them in practice, only observing to make the extreme observations of each day equidistant from the middle one.

• At the same time it will be borne in mind, that in what concerns the great meteorological questions on which the most interesting features of the subject depend, the night is quite as important as the day, and has hitherto been far too much neglected. To any one, therefore, who may feel disposed to enter more zealously into the subject, and will not consider some personal inconvenience ill undergone for the sake of affording data of a peculiarly valuable description, this committee would most earnestly recommend the adoption, in preference to all others, of the quaternary division of the twenty-four hours, as followed at the Royal Observatory above alluded to: and they leave it to the consideration of the council, whether the keeping and transmission of registers on this principle, might not advantageously be distinguished by some honorary reward, as that of a medal for instance, should the funds of the institution admit of it.

With a view, however, to the better determining the laws of the diurnal changes taking place in the atmosphere, and to the obtaining a knowledge of the correspondence of its movements and affections over great regions of the earth's surface, or even over the whole globe, the committee have resolved to recommend that four days in each year should henceforth be especially set apart by meteorologists in every part of the world, and devoted to a most scrupulous and accurate registry of the state of the barometer and thermometer, the direction and force of the wind, the quantity,

character, and distribution of clouds, and every other particular of weather throughout the whole twenty-four hours of those days, and the adjoining six hours of the days preceding and following.\*

The days they have been induced to fix on and recommend for these observations, are the 21st of March, the 21st June, the 21st September, and the 21st December, being those, or immediately adjoining to those of the equinoxes and solstices, in which the solar influence is either stationary or in a state of most rapid variation : but should any one of those 21st days fall on Sunday, then it will be understood that the observations are to be deferred till the next day, the 22nd. The observation at each station should commence at 6 o'clock A. M. of the appointed days, and terminate at 6 o'clock P. M. of the days following, according to the usual reckoning of time at the place. During this interval, the barometer and thermometer should be read off and registered hourly, or at all events at intervals not more than two hours asunder, and the precise hour and minute of each reading should be especially noted.

For obvious reasons, however, the commencement of every hour should, if practicable, be chosen ; and every such series of observations should be accompanied by a notice of the means used to obtain the time, and when practicable, by some observation of an astronomical nature, by which the time can be independently ascertained within a minute or two.† As there is scarcely any class of observations by which meteorology can be more extensively and essentially promoted, it is hoped that, not only at every station of importance in this colony, but over the whole world, and on board ships in every part of the ocean, individuals will be found to co-operate in this inquiry. Every communication of such observations, addressed by channels as secure and as little expensive as possible to the secretary of this institution, will be considered as highly valuable."

And now in conclusion, we must state our conviction that the perils of navigating our eastern seas will be very much diminished by the diffusion among our navigators of a practical and scientific knowledge of the LAW OF STORMS. Already we believe that these perils have been very considerably lessened by improvements in the art and science of navigation, and by the great improvements that have been effected in our nautical instruments ; and when an indoctrination into this theory becomes as essential a point of a nautical education as the boxing of the compass, we believe they

\* This is necessary by reason of the want of coincidence of the day in different parts of the globe, arising from difference of longitude. In order to obtain a complete correspondence of observation for twenty-four successive hours over the whole globe, it must be taken into account, that opposite longitudes differ twelve hours in their reckoning of time. By the arrangement in the text the whole of the astronomical day (from noon to noon) is embraced in each series, and no observer is required to watch two nights in succession.

† For example, the first appearances and last disappearances of the sun's upper and lower border, above and below the sea horizon, if at sea or on the coast, or on land, the exact length of the shadow of a vertical object of determinate length on an horizontal level, at a precise moment of time (not too near noon), &c.

will be lessened much more. It is not enough that commanders of vessels should be possessed of such practical rules as those furnished by writers on the subject; they must have such an inwrought knowledge of the great law as will lead to almost intuitive action in every case that may occur. One thing that bodes well for future progress is the increased attention that is now paid to the barometer. We should regard this instrument, and its kindred sympiesometer, as the sheet anchor by which our navigators should hold fast in the hurricane latitudes; so far as we have learned, its indications have never been disregarded with impunity, nor judiciously attended to without advantage.

With all the advance of knowledge it were vain to expect that no accident will ever occur; but we cannot doubt that they will be greatly diminished in number. That our readers may form some idea of the number of shipwrecks that formerly occurred in the navigation of the Indian seas, we know not that we can do better than transcribe from the *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1800, the following list of casualties that befel the H. E. I. C.'s Ships from 1757 to 1800 inclusive, marking with an asterisk (\*) those that were probably destroyed in hurricanes, and might probably have been saved had the law of storms been understood by their commanders.

|       |                          |  |
|-------|--------------------------|--|
| 1757  | Stretham .....           | Wrecked in Bengal River.               |
| 1758  | Denham .....             | Burnt in Bencoolen Road.               |
| .     | Ajax .....               | Captured by the French.                |
| *     | Griffin .....            | Wrecked at the Island of Zelo.         |
| *1759 | Earl Temple .....        | Do. to the Southward of the Parasells. |
| 1761  | Walpole .....            | Captured by the French.                |
|       | Winchelsea .....         | Wrecked in Bengal River.               |
|       | Elizabeth .....          | Burnt at China.                        |
| 1763  | E. of Holderness .....   | Wrecked, outwards, near the Downs.     |
| *1764 | Falmouth .....           | Stranded on Saygor Bank.               |
|       | Albion .....             | Wrecked, outwards, near the Downs.     |
| 1766  | Ld. Clive .....          | Wrecked, 9 miles S. of Bologne.        |
| *     | E. Chatham .....         | Supposed to have foundered.            |
| 1768  | Lord Holland .....       | Wrecked coming out of Bengal River.    |
| *1769 | Verelst .....            | Ditto near the Mauritius.              |
| 1771  | Duke of Albany .....     | Ditto in Bengal River.                 |
| 1772  | Lord Mansfield .....     | Ditto ditto.                           |
| *     | Huntingdon .....         | Ditto off Johanna.                     |
|       | Royal Captain .....      | Ditto on the shoals of Pelawar.        |
| *1775 | Marquis of Rockingham .. | Ditto on the coast of Coromandel.      |
| *1776 | Valentine .....          | Wrecked near St. Isle de Merchands.    |
| 1777  | Osterby .....            | Taken by the French.                   |
|       | Colebrooke .....         | Wrecked going into False Bay.          |
|       | Stafford .....           | Ditto coming out of Bengal River.      |

|        |                        |  |
|--------|------------------------|--|
| 1778   | General Barker .....   | Wrecked on the Coast of Holland.                       |
|        | London .....           | Run down by the Russel Man of War.                     |
|        | Royal George .....     | } Taken by the fleets of France and Spain.             |
|        | Hillsborough .....     |  |
|        | Mountstuart .....      |  |
|        | Gathon .....           |  |
|        | Godfrey .....          |  |
| *†1788 | E. of Dartmouth .....  | Wrecked on the Carnicobar.                             |
| *      | Grosvenor .....        | Ditto to the E. of the Cape.                           |
| 1793   | Blandford .....        | Taken by the French.                                   |
|        | Fortitude .....        | Ditto ditto.   |
| *      | E. of Hertford .....   | Wrecked in Madras Roads.                               |
|        | Hinchenbrook .....     | Ditto in Bengal River.                                 |
|        | Major .....            | Burnt at Culpee.                                       |
|        | D. of Atholl .....     | Ditto in Madras Roads.                                 |
|        | Fairford .....         | Ditto in Bombay Harbour.                               |
| 1782   | Duke of Kingston ..... | Burnt off Ceylon.                                      |
| 1784   | Halswell .....         | Wrecked near Peverell Point.                           |
| 1785   | Mars .....             | Ditto in Margate Roads.                                |
| 1786   | Hartwell .....         | Ditto off Bonavista.                                   |
| 1788   | Vansittart .....       | Ditto in the Straits of Gaspar.                        |
| *1789  | Foulis .....           | { Sailed for Madras for Bencoolen, and never heard of. |
| *1791  | Winterton .....        | Wrecked off Madagascar.                                |
| 1792   | Princess Royal .....   | Taken by the French.                                   |
|        | Pigot .....            | Ditto ditto.   |
| 1794   | Triton .....           | Ditto ditto.   |
| *1798  | Ocean .....            | Lost to the Eastward.                                  |
|        | Raymond .....          | Taken by the French.                                   |
|        | Woodcot .....          | Ditto ditto.   |
|        | Princess Amelia .....  | Burnt off Cannanore.                                   |
| 1799   | Henry Addington .....  | Lost on Bridge Ledge.                                  |
|        | Ganges .....           | Burnt.   |
|        | Earl Fitzwilliam ..... | Ditto.   |
| 1800   | Queen ..               | Ditto.   |

To those twelve that we have marked as probably lost in consequence of their commanders' unacquaintance with the law of storms, might perhaps be added a portion of those wrecked in the Húgli. But independently of those, it must be evident that the proportion of wrecks to the whole number of ships afloat was very much greater in those days than now; and we believe we are not enthusiastic in the expectation, that our successors will be able to trace a still greater diminution at the end of the next half century.

We know not how it may strike others; but it does seem to us a matter of humble and hearty thanks to that God whose sublime attribute it is to "walk on the wings of the wind,"

† Date evidently a mis-print, probably 1779.

and who "maketh the winds his messengers, and the flaming lightning his minister," that he should have enabled so feeble a one of his creatures as man to attain such a power as he now possesses over so subtle and tremendous an element as the air; and we know not how we can better conclude this article than in the nervous words of our own Bacon, who declares the object of his labors to be,—"*ut tandem (tanquam curatores probi et fideles) tradamus hominibus fortunas suas, emancipato intellectu, et facto tanquam majore; unde necesse est sequi emendationem status hominis, et ampliacionem potestatis ejus super naturam. Homo enim per lapsum et de statu innocentie decidit, et de regno in creaturas. Utraque autem res, etiam in hac vita, nonnulla ex parte reparari potest; prior per religionem et fidem, posterior per artes et scientias. Neque enim per maledictionem facta est creatura prorsus et ad extremum rebellis; sed in virtute illius diplomatis, *In sudore vultus comedet panem tuum*, per labores varios, (non per disputationes certe, aut per otiosas ceremonias magicas), tandem et aliqua ex parte ad panem homini præbendum, id est, ad usus vitæ humanæ, subigitur.\*"*

\* That we may at length, as honest and faithful guardians, deliver over to men their possession, having first emancipated and enlarged their understandings: whence will necessarily follow an improvement of the condition of man and an encrease of his power over nature. For man by his fall lost both his state of innocence, and his dominion over the creatures. But both these losses can be in some degree repaired even in this life, the former by religion and faith, the latter by arts and sciences. For the creature was not by the curse made wholly and for ever rebellious; but in virtue of that commission,—*In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat thy bread*,—is at length subdued in some measure by various labors, (not certainly by disputationes or idle magical ceremonies) so as to afford bread to man, that is, to minister to the purposes of human life.

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- ART. III.—1. *Hamilton's East India Gazetteer, Articles,—Ava, Tavoy, Ye, Tenasserim, and Moulmein.*
2. *Narrative of the Burmese war and Treaty of peace at Yandaboo in 1826, by Major Snodgrass, London, 1827.*
3. *Calcutta Christian Observer.—Vols. III, IV, V, and VI.—Papers on the Karens of Burmah.*
4. *The Calcutta Star, Englishman, and Hurkaru, and Friend of India, for 1845-6-7.—Various Articles on Moulmein and its affairs.*

THE Burmese War was terminated by a treaty of peace and amity, concluded on the 24th of February 1826, between the Honorable the East India Company and the king of Ava. This treaty commonly called that of Yandaboo, cedes by its 4th article “the conquered provinces of Ye, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tenasserim, with the islands and dependencies thereunto appertaining, taking the Salween River as the line of demarcation on that frontier.”

And here, at the outset, we may notice it as one proof, among many, of the comparatively small interest taken heretofore by the British public at home, in these Eastern regions, that, in the latest and most improved edition of that immense store-house of knowledge, the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Moulmein, the British capital of these ceded provinces, is *not even inserted at all!* In like manner, neither Mergui nor Ye find a place there. The only names thus honoured are Tenasserim and Tavoy; and of both, the notices are equally short, defective, unsatisfactory, and even inaccurate. Here, for example, is the whole account of *Tenasserim*—“A town and district of the *Burman Empire*. The district extends along the sea coast, from the 11th to the 14th degrees of north latitude. A connected barrier of islands, extending 135 miles from north to south, with a strait between them and the mainland, from fifteen to thirty miles broad, protects the west coast from the south-west monsoon. The capital of the province is of the same name. It was taken in 1759 from the Siamese, by Alompra, and was then large and populous; but is now almost a heap of ruins. Long. 98° 50' East; Lat. 11° 42' North.” The very fact of its not having been a district of the Burman empire for the last twenty years, but an integral portion of the British, is not so much as noted!

To supply such glaring deficiencies, by gleanings of information

from every available source, oral or written, published or unpublished, and combining the whole into an orderly and readable statement, has been our chief design in the following article. On some points we have met with the most fearfully conflicting accounts—dogmatic assertion boldly confronting counter-assertion equally dogmatic. In such cases, it would have been infinitely more easy and more pleasant at once to cut the gordian knot rather than attempt to disentangle it. But such a process would have broken in upon the continuity of our statement, and rendered it altogether incomplete. We have preferred encountering the more arduous task; we have compared statement with statement; we have weighed, as far as we could, the evidences, external and internal, presented in favour of each; we have thus been enabled to arrive at some definite conclusion in our own mind; and that conclusion we shall endeavour to lay before the reader as briefly as possible, simply as *the result* of our own independent inquiries, without troubling him with the perplexities and contradictions of heated controversy.

The tract of country, which, by the treaty of Yandaboo, fell into the hands of the East India Company, extends from the point of junction of the Thoongeen River, with the Salween on the North, to the Pak Chan River on the South; that is from about  $17^{\circ} 35'$  to  $10^{\circ}$  North Latitude; and from  $97^{\circ} 30'$  to  $99^{\circ} 30'$  East Longitude. It now bears the general name of the Tenasserim Provinces, and may be said to have a length of about 500 miles, and a breadth varying from 80 to 40 miles, according as the Sea Coast approaches or recedes from the range of mountains which forms the Eastern Boundary of the British territory. This chain of mountains, rich in tin ores and other valuable minerals, runs under different names from North to South; and, draining its eastern slopes into the Gulf of Siam, and its western slopes into the Indian ocean or bay of Bengal, forms a clear, well-defined boundary between the kingdom of Siam and the East India Company's possessions.

It may be doubted whether by retaining the Tenasserim Provinces the Government of India did not in reality strengthen the kingdom of Ava; for the latter, by this cession, was disencumbered of a long narrow strip of territory, which, productive to that power of little revenue, was always a source of anxiety from the distance of Tavoy and Mergui, and the difficulty of supporting such remote provinces against internal or external foes. The Tenasserim Provinces were, for a series of ages, the battle ground on which, according to the accidental circumstances which are ever in action in semi-barbarous states,

the armies of Pegu, Ava, and Siam reaped success or discomfiture. The result was necessarily inimical to this tract of country; and a less promising addition to the wide empire of British India could scarcely have been discovered than were the Tenasserim Provinces, when they became part of our eastern possessions. This, however, is not the place to enter upon a consideration of the motives which ultimately induced the Supreme Government of India to retain a territory ill-peopled, therefore unproductive, and consequently an additional burthen on our finances; but we may at once pass on to a few remarks upon the peculiar races which, thinly scattered over its plains and mountains, form its inhabitants.

The Talains form the larger portion of the population, and as their language has been entirely neglected by the numerous British functionaries employed in the Civil and Military administration of the provinces, it is impossible to take a very accurate view either of their religion, or of their social habits. Acquaintance with the religion of this people depends on the asserted fact, that their theological works are derived from the Burmese,—the Talain treatises being by some, and particularly by the Burmese, regarded as mere translations from the Burmese. The correctness of this assertion remains to be proved. There is, however, evidently but little difference between, Burmese and Talain Buddhism, and no very serious error can be incurred in drawing general deductions from those main features of the Buddhism, which both people profess, and in the main tenets of which they undoubtedly concur. Both are agreed in the statement, that Buddhism was introduced into the kingdoms of Ava and Pegu by emissaries from Ceylon: both have their religious works interspersed with Pali quotations, and refer with reverence to the land from which they received their creed. Leaving, therefore, the question open whether the independent sea-borne power of Pegu or the comparatively land-locked kingdom of Ava were most likely to have first received the missionaries of Buddhism, it may safely be taken for granted, from the absence of any marked schism between the two, that Burman and Talain Buddhism present no very material points of difference or of departure from each other: a little jealousy between the High Poongees, or priests, of the Burmans and Talains may be observed, but the jealousy has reference to temporal dignity and position, and does not appear hitherto to have produced schism.

A close resemblance may be remarked between the Brahm of the Hindus and the Buddha of the Burmese—the attributes of Buddha in his state of felicitous quiescence must be

utterly incomprehensible to any but a Brahman or Poongee metaphysician—the idea of infinite power in the periodical slumber of non-entity is certainly foreign to the Christian and European mind, and as inexplicable and unimaginable as are the fits of action in which Buddha, awaking from felicitous non-entity, assumes his operative and creative qualities and becomes incarnate as Gaudama.

If the attributes are similar, Gandama's doctrines are also in one respect analogous to those of the Vedas. The merit accruing from good works forms the basis of his system; and future rewards correspond in as infinite a ratio as there may be appreciable differences in the scale of good works.—Buddhism is therefore like Hinduism, a religion of self-righteousness. The parallel cannot, however, be further continued; for Buddhism differs from the Vedas with respect to the character of the future state of existence which it promises to its votaries between the close of the present life and final absorption in the Deity: moreover, Gaudama deals not in caste, and the future state, whether the soul be in any of the numerous heavens or equally numerous hells, is not supposed to be affected by having when on earth tenanted a body born of a particular race or class. The Ethics of Gaudama are consequently of a somewhat higher order than those of the Vedas, and are still further elevated above them from the circumstance of being free from that which is a main cause of error and confusion in the moral perceptions of right and wrong amongst Hindus, namely, the inculcation of a number of trivialities as necessary of observance, and the breach of them as involving an equal amount of guilt with the perpetration of the most serious crimes. Imperfect as Gaudama's moral system undoubtedly is, it must be acknowledged free from such gross sources of error. Unshackled by caste, and resting their hopes on individual merits, his followers are characterised by greater independence of conduct and a somewhat higher, less clouded ethical knowledge.

The worship of Gaudama is remarkably exempted from any of those cruel rites and sacrifices which render Hindu worship as loathsome to beholders as it is corrupting and degrading to the Hindus. There is no sacrifice of animal life, no self-inflicted torture, no mutilation of the person; well dressed and in orderly procession, Talains and Burmans proceed on particular occasions to their numerous Pagodas, bearing offerings of flowers, of fruits, of flags, of glittering umbrellas; and uttering their prayers and invocations, present their offerings on the small altars, or place them around and against the

Pagodas and image house; there is no shouting, no noise or tumult, but much that is gay, orderly and pleasing to the outward eye. At the full moon those who are strict in their religious observances pass a day and a night in fasting and prayer at the Pagodas, and may be seen counting their beads and muttering their prayers much in the manner of Romanists, numbering their *Pater Nosters*. It may strike the heart of a Christian heavily to see prayers offered up before the uncouth idols of Gaudama; yet, after having witnessed Hindu rites and festivals, there may be some consolation in the far more amiable features which the service of Gaudama assumes, and in the freedom of his followers from the debasing effects of impure rites and scenes of barbarous and revolting cruelties.

Another, and very important particular in which the Buddhist Religion is superior to Hinduism is, that its tenets are free from absurd restrictions as to the food. The Talain and Burman are under no rule but that of their own fancies and habits, with respect to eating and drinking, and the latitude they take, is, even to a European, matter of surprise. They are never at a loss; whatever the jungle, it is sure to afford them esculent vegetables in the form of wild roots, leaves of trees, and the like. Every description of animal is eaten by them, even to snakes, large maggots, frogs, and such other rarities, not excepting strips of rhinoceros. Unhampered by caste, fond of good living, and putting every thing under requisition with an ingenuity that would excite the admiration of a Ure or a Kitchener, their cuisine is very comprehensive. The sociability of eating and drinking in company is thoroughly well understood and enjoyed by them, and it aids in giving them a certain *bon homie* much more English than Eastern.

The priesthood is of entirely different institution from that of the Hindus. Instead of a privileged class furnishing its members, any layman may turn Poongee, and, *vice versâ*, a Poongee may lay aside his yellow cloth and re-enter upon a secular life. The priesthood is, therefore, thoroughly a portion of the people, and is intimately blended with them by origin, though separated from them by its rules. These, as is well known, are of a thoroughly ascetic character, having often been compared to the vows of monks and the ordipances of monasteries. Honored and respected as many Poongees are, there is no servile fear of them; no cringing submission on the part of the laity to their spiritual instructors. The extent of the honor and reverence in which a Poongee is held, is in general proportionate to his erudition, and to his character for strict-

ness in the observance of his inaugural vows. The sanctity of the office is not predominant over, or independent of, the sanctity of the person filling it: on the contrary, though Poongees, like monks, may figure in stories of intrigue, yet, like monks too, many of them have been revered.

Besides the spiritual instruction of adults, and the expounding to them the doctrines and ethics of Gaudama, the Poongees are entrusted with the system of national education; and it is in this respect that they act a most important part in the social system of the Burmans and Talains. Few villages are so small, or so poor, that they cannot afford to build a Kioung, that is, a suitable residence for one or more Poongees; large villages have more than one; towns have many; and very considerable sums are expended in these structures which are the pride both of villages and towns, and are held to be works, so meritorious as not only to confer much present celebrity but great future felicity and reward on their founders and endowers. Thither all boys and youths are sent to be taught reading and writing; the age at which boys are entered; the time they stay in the Kioungs; and the progress made in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the study of Buddhist Scriptures are very various: the effect, however, is, that although the scale of acquirements be in general low, very few Talains are unable to read and write Talain, and some few can in addition read and write Burmese. The result of the system is the general prevalence amongst the male population of a mere elementary degree of education; indeed, such is the state of education amongst the teachers, the Poongees, that but few of them are really capable of imparting other than a rudimentary knowledge; but, were their ability and attainments greater than they are, their pupils in consequence of the short time they for the most part attend the Kioungs could not be expected to make much progress in Buddhistical lore. The system of education is in some respects remarkable;—the boys remain at the Kioungs, and are wholly under the charge of the Poongees. The latter employ their scholars out of school hours in a variety of ways; the Kioung must be swept and kept clean; the grounds around need some care and labour; the Poongees when they sally forth of a morning on their eleemosynary promenade must have a long file of students, armed with capacious receiving vessels for holding the charitable donations of rice and other eatables which the lay community (chiefly the women) are liberal in bestowing, and which forms the day's subsistence of students and Poongees. In short the Kioung boys, combine with study, such assistance

as by their personal services they can render to their preceptors. Before break of day a chaunt is heard proceeding from the Kioungs; this is the opening prayer, the invocation to Gaudama, which the teacher leads, and in which all the students join. The chaunt is not devoid of solemnity, and is followed by one more rapid and recitative, of short sentences, with the time always well kept though the utterance is quick and voluble; this is the scale of consonants with their combinations, and strange as it may seem the effect of this peculiar chaunt is not unmusical. With these elementary recitatives the day commences;—sweeping, promenading, cooking, and a variety of minor operations succeed; then writing, reading and study are resumed and continued for a time. At sun-set the invocation chaunt again sounds, followed by what may be termed the alphabetical chaunt. If a person looks into a Kioung at this time he will probably find the Poongee preceptor seated; in front of him are the neophytes who have assumed the yellow or clerical cloth; beyond them are the younger students; all is order; the low voice of the preceptor leading is scarcely heard in the full chorus, in excellent time, of the whole assembly—one or two glimmering lamps shed a feeble light upon the group, upon the gilt cases containing the theological manuscripts of the Kioung, upon sundry marble and wooden images of Gaudama, and upon the dingy though frequently highly carved and ornamented roofs and sides of the wooden structure. Suddenly the chaunt ceases; the Poongees lie down in small chambers or the more private parts of the Kioung; neophytes and scholars stretch themselves out where they please or can, but a little clear of their preceptors; and all but the Kioung dogs, a noisy watchful set, are soon at rest. Such is the daily routine of a Talain Kioung.

The women have no education, but such as in solitary instances they accidentally acquire. The circumstance it will be seen does not prevent their taking a very prominent and active share in all business. To the Poongee, however, they are but little indebted for the influence and position they enjoy in society. Celibacy is one of the vows of a Poongee, and it is profanation to one of the sanctimonious fraternity to touch a female, even were it his own mother needing aid when in danger. Nevertheless, nothing delights a mother more than to see her son in the Neophyte's dress, except it be to see him take upon himself the vows and life of a Poongee: for, although their influence is not so great or pernicious as that of Brahmans, yet a well conducted Poongee acquires great power and authority, is an object of general respect and reverence during life;

and of pompous funeral obsequies when dead. Talain and Burmese women, though they may have little for which to feel grateful to Poongees, are highly indebted to the Talain and Burmese version of the law of Manu, the avowed foundation of the various law treatises. No stronger contrast can be imagined than that which exists between the state of woman on the west, and that of woman on the east side of the Bay of Bengal; woman in India, and woman on the Tenasserim Coast. True it is that Burmah and Pegu having escaped the yoke of Islam, the Mahomedan example of the close seclusion of women has not in either country had the opportunity of operating in the same pernicious manner as where Moslem conquest has introduced Moslem prejudice and feeling; and the fact must be borne in mind when the above comparison is instituted. Still, the main cause must be looked for in the clear, legally defined rights of women in Burmese and Talain law. That law admits an extreme facility as to Divorce, both on the part of husband and wife; a facility by no means as favourable to the morality of either as it is to the independence of the weaker sex; so long as ill treatment is a legitimate plea for seeking a Divorce, no woman need long remain under the roof of a harsh and tyrannical husband; and as the rights of property are, in all cases of Divorce from whatever cause, clearly defined and the whole not inequitable, woman is well defended in this essential particular, and her independence not compromised. Her position in society as compared with that in other eastern countries is therefore very remarkable; she enters her husband's house not as his slave but his helpmate; there is no seclusion behind a purdah, but open participation in all the pleasures and business of life; bonds, receipts, &c., bear her name as well as her husband's; both names appear on the village records connected with the tenure of land and on the Government revenue rolls. The wife is frequently more expert in the management of business than her spouse, and may be often found prosecuting suits before the Courts; in general the most careful and industrious of the two, the affairs of the household, even to the charge of the money and valuables, are usually in her hands; in a word, no class of females play a more prominent part in social life than the Burmese and Talain women. A custom, (indeed it may be termed a law, being enforced and regulated by specific rules) which probably first originated in the scanty population and the high value of labour has also tended to favor the condition of women. A newly married couple do not proceed to the husband's house, but to that of the father and mother of the



bride, and there they reside for a considerable period, from one to three years,—the son-in-law aiding the father of his wife in all his agricultural and domestic labours. The bride does not, therefore, at once pass from under the rule of her parents to be subject to the unchecked authority of her husband; parental authority and protection still exercise considerable influence over her, and also inevitably over her husband. The result is far from being always favorable to the happiness of the couple, but it is decidedly protective of the bride, inasmuch as parental affection will not easily brook the ill-treatment of a child, and is ever ready to support her in whatever custom and law concede as her rights.

Thus, in those matters which so much affect the character of a nation, namely, religion, education, and position of woman in the social system, the people are under far more favorable circumstances than are the Hindus or even the Mussulmans; and a corresponding effect has been produced upon the character of the nation, which is less eastern than that of any class of our Cis-Gangetic subjects.

In a country intersected by numerous rivers and their tributaries, and having extensive alluvial tracts of ground, well calculated with the aid of heavy periodical rains for the cultivation of rice, the inhabitants will naturally devote themselves to such culture, and to fishing. The streams will be the high roads, and the inhabitants will group themselves in such situations as are alike favorable for the superintendence of their agriculture, and for facility of water communication. To manage a canoe will be as essential an acquirement to man, and even to woman, as to know how to cut the rice, and cleanse it from its husk. The population will therefore be found planted on the river banks, and more inured to aquatic than to land travelling; regarding the rivers as their high roads and having all their habits moulded accordingly, distance will be measured by the number of tides, or parts of a tide, which a canoe takes in traversing it; and time, by the cooking of a pot of rice, or the smoking of a cigar if short intervals are under discussion, or the movement of the sun if longer ones are under consideration. Boat racing will be a national amusement, and a canoe be a normal idea of the people. Accordingly even the musical instruments of Burmans and Talains are some of them canoe-shaped, cattle are fed out of canoes and drink water out of canoe-shaped troughs, and sometimes drag canoe-shaped carts in which Poongees may be occasionally seen to embark on land. No where is the Burman more at home, more intelligent, more indefatigable than in a canoe; occasion-

ally singing an extempore song in the chorus of which all join in admirable time, a crew will pull for hours, apparently but little wearied and always good-natured. Here lies their forte; for on land they are soon fatigued, being, though possessed of muscular, well-made limbs, but sorry pedestrians; and tenacious of the rule of conduct that a man should never walk when he can go in a canoe.

Rice, the staple of their food, requires somewhat additional to relieve its insipidity. Napee, a sort of shrimp caviare, is the most common and cheapest adjunct, being made in large quantity throughout the provinces. Milk, usually in the east a favorite article of food, forms about the only thing to which the omnivorous Talains have a positive aversion; various reasons are assigned for this singular prejudice.

Smoking tobacco, in the form of cigars, is universal amongst men, women and children; and an unfinished cigar, or one not commenced, may be often seen carried in lieu of the ear-plug which this people deem ornamental.

Neither men, women, or children, are handsome; and the custom above alluded to of wearing large plugs in the lower flap of the ear does not improve the Tartar countenances of this ill-favored race.\* The men have their thighs tattooed as low as the knee, and much pain is endured in undergoing the operation; since the Chinese have settled in the provinces, and have introduced their favorite drug, opium is often administered, with the view of rendering the business of tattooing less painful; but no gentleman can escape this fantastic ornament which the ladies very wisely altogether eschew.

The houses are admirably adapted to the climate; timber being abundant, no masonry or earthwork is used, but stout posts being sunk into the ground, the floor of the house, usually of bamboo, is laid from five to seven feet above the level of the ground. According to the means of the individual the walls are of plank, of bamboo mat, or of common mat; and the roof is a timber frame-work, carrying a bamboo trellice bound on with rattan, and covered by a thatching of leaves of the dunnee (a salt water palm). Well raised above the damp of the soil in the rainy season, and from its refracted heat in the dry, the houses are cool, dry and healthy: much cannot be said for their cleanliness, still they present a more comfortable appearance than the huts of a Bengal population, and are far superior in salubrity.

From their interior may at times be heard musical sounds, which from their sweetness of tone will arrest the stranger; for both Talain and Burmese music is superior to that of

India, and some of their instruments, particularly a species of lute, considered the accomplishment of those of family and means, are capable of more than the native performers can produce from them. Their airs are pretty, though monotonous, and the accuracy of ear of the performers, when two or more play together, is at times truly remarkable. This, as before stated, is a characteristic of the people, and may be observed in all their occupations and amusements.

With the ally of music, dancing, both men and women are acquainted; it is, however, rather ceremonial, choral gesticulation, than what Europeans consider dancing, and may be seen to advantage on such festal occasions as when a Poonjee of noted sanctity dies. His body being embalmed, and a day fixed for his incremation, it is preceded by a month of practice on the part of bands of men and women dancing to their own choral singing. When the day arrives the coffin of the Poonjee, mounted on a high and gorgeously decorated car, is dragged to the selected spot, accompanied by a procession of these bands in gay attire: each party of fifty or more men, is usually in a particular costume intended to represent that of some foreign country; the ladies appear in their own costume covered with all the gold ornaments and jewellery they possess; now and then before a house, a group, or a person of importance, band after band stops and goes through a kind of ballet in admirable uniformity of time and gesture, the procession meanwhile moving on slowly. This continues until the car reaches the spot, when other rocket-impelled cars are launched at it, and the whole, holy Poongee included, are consumed.

Again, when a person is very sick, superstition will sometimes originate a ball. 'Nats, that is fairies, are held in a strange mixture of fear and reverence by Talains, and are supposed to take a very active part in the domestic affairs of mankind. The Nat master or mistress, whichever it be who in a district has acquired by universal suffrage or has arrogated the fame of intimacy with the Nat gentry, is called and consulted, and sometimes prescribes a dance, in order to induce the good people to remove the disease. The remedy is expensive; the neighbours are invited, and a feast is given; the dance follows and is continued until the neighbours can dance no longer, when, it being presumed that the Nat ought to be satisfied and appeased, the dancers disperse. The skill of the Talain in gesture dancing is perhaps most conspicuous when, suddenly, part or nearly the whole of the crew of one of their long light very crank racing canoes spring up, and on their precarious craft,

which the slightest awkwardness or mistake upsets, dance shouting and flourishing their paddles. These canoes hold from forty to sixty men, and on such an occasion one bad ear and false gesticulation as to time might easily capsize a boat.

In another very favorite amusement of this people are combined their music, singing and dancing. A "Pwey" is a species of mask or mystery, such as the old English revels and the Romanist festivals of our ancestors often witnessed, the chief difference being in the subject of the Pwey and its usual duration; it is passionately loved by the Talains and Burmans. On various occasions those who can afford the expense, gratify themselves, their popularity, and their neighbours by hiring a set of actors and musicians, erecting a temporary shed for the performance, and notifying to their friends and neighbours when the exhibition is to commence. The throng is usually great on the appointed night; and the audience as attentive and interested as if the stage were of much greater pretension. These temporary Drurys and Covent-gardens are of extreme simplicity; a bunch of boughs stuck up in the centre forms the "scene;" three or four earthen basons on the top of sticks hold the oil and tow which enlightens the audience and actors; a large vessel of oil, with a wooden ladle, enables the actors occasionally to replenish the basons; the green-room is distinguished by a string of masques used by the actors, who put on and off their costume, whether of kings or devils, in a manner which must be very instructive to the people as to the toilet of such important personages; the musicians are grouped at the green room and form the point of entrance and exit of the actors; a certain space round the central boughs and lights is kept clear as the stage, and the audience sit and stand around this somewhat circumscribed area as they best can, some under but most outside of the shed;—a King, his Premier, a lovely Princess, an enamoured Prince, a Beloo or Devil, and the attendants of these several worthies are the standing personages. The plot may be easily conceived as to the mortals, but the roll which the Beloo plays, his tricks, the endeavours to catch him, his escapes and wonderful feats are not so easily imagined. He is a sort of mischief-loving, trickey Harlequin, and bamboozles king, prince, and attendants to his heart's content,—of course favoring the loving couple in the end at the expense of king, queen, and commons. There is much dancing, the dialogues being always followed by music and pantomimic action; much flourishing of swords; hunts after the Beloo round the bough, i. e. through imaginary forests; appearance and disappearance of personages to each other who remain

strangely visible to the audience; *bon mots* which produce rounds of laughter and applause from the amphitheatre of heads; love-making and sentimental talking; in short an interminable trash of comedy, tragedy, pantomime, singing, dancing, capering, and music, which lasts for four or five consecutive nights, and to which there appears no limit but the purse of the host, and the not easily satiated enjoyment of the audience. The whole exhibition is, however, exceedingly characteristic of the people,—love, war, and boat-songs are common amongst them; the sentiments and imagery of their songs are of course thoroughly Talain and Burmese, and a European may often be amused by what to him must appear the strange notions of beauty, feeling and heroism which they convey.

Such are the general habits of the bulk of the population of the Tenasserim provinces; a people inferior to the Hindus in agricultural skill and industry, but superior in general character, being more independent of spirit, less degraded by their religion and its superstitions, free from caste, from slavery to a load of trivial observances, and owing to the more favourable condition of woman and her rights, having a better social system; also, more advanced in the general diffusion of elementary education. Fond of amusement and idleness, and inhabiting a country, which, from its soil, climate, and streams, affords an abundance of food with the exaction of no great amount of labour, the people cannot be held as remarkable for their industry. Though fond of money they are not fond of toil, and as the price of labour is high from the scantiness of the population, a very little exertion suffices to enable a man to indulge in a protracted enjoyment of idleness; continuous exertion is therefore a rare quality amongst them.

Although not subject to the action of debasing rites and ceremonies such as those of the Hindus, a puerile superstition has a very strong-hold upon the minds of the Talains. The Nats receive much attention; they appear to parcel out the country into distinct jurisdictions and endowed with every variety of character, disposition, and occupation; they are the Dianas of the chase, and must be courted by the elephant-catcher and the game-killer; very influential with tigers, upon whose heads they ride, they can, when propitiated, shut the jaws of their steeds and render them of lamb-like innocence. Nats too have agricultural propensities, are not averse to meddling with horticultural pursuits, and can blight or favor a fruit season at pleasure; Nats are the only members of the faculty who can cope with cholera and small-pox, and who

without a diploma, thoroughly command the various ills which men are heirs to. Again, Nats are as domestic as cats, and those which have a turn for house-keeping exact a good deal of in-door consideration: they appear almost as touchy and treacherous as their feline rivals, and it is only with a salvo to the influence of the Nat that a man is master in his own house. There are Nats of the water as well as of the land, and go where one will, there the Nat is on the mind of the Talain. Still, Nats are not very ill-natured nor very greedy; a cocoa-nut, rags of red cloth, flowers, paper streamers, and the like, are the offerings which are esteemed propitiatory and gratifying, and being easily obtained, there is no very good reason why every Nat in the country should not retain its good humour. The Nats play a still more prominent part amongst a race, the helots of Burmah and Pegu, namely, the Karens.

This very curious and interesting people now occupy the various mountainous and difficult tracts of country throughout Burmah, Pegu, the Tenasserim coast, and parts of the Shan and Siamese countries. The Karens are a timid and oppressed people, speaking a language wholly different from both the Burmese and Talain, and are regarded by the nations amongst whom they are scattered as an inferior race. Long subjection has led them to form the same estimate of themselves, and to imagine that nature has doomed them to a subordinate condition. Their only resource from tyranny and oppression is the refuge of their loved mountains and forests, and to these they cling with a warm affection for the wild life, which, in the absence of a more manly spirit amongst them as a people, is the only one that can secure to them comparative liberty and the absence of oppression.

The Karens are Deists, and amongst them are traditions of the creation of man, his fall, the deluge, the subsequent peopling of the earth, and of the growth of idolatry amongst its inhabitants which appear to have a Mosaic origin. They are not idolators, but have fallen away from the purity of the worship of one only God, and have sunk into a superstitious dread of Nats, and a system of endeavouring to secure their favor which borders closely on Nat worship. It would almost seem as if they considered that the Nats had full liberty from an incensed Deity to plague earth and its inhabitants. Nat houses, looking like children's play-things from the diminutive size, are constantly met with in the forests, and at the foot of some gigantic tree would be passed almost unheeded, but for the request that the traveller will not disturb the dwelling and the offerings of the Nat.

Their system of cultivation is suited to the nature of the country they occupy, and is therefore different from that of the Burmese and Talain who occupy the rich, well-watered alluvial plains. The Karen, having cut down a tract of jungle, fires it when the end of the dry weather facilitates the operation. He then plants his rice after the first fall of rain has moistened the earth, and enabled him without difficulty to make the small holes in which he plants his seed. He seldom takes more than two or three crops from the field he has cleared, but proceeds to take more virgin soil from the jungle and forest. When, in the course of this system, the fields are getting somewhat remote from a village, and the distance is felt to be inconvenient, the village is deserted and another built near to the new patches of cultivation; as the houses are entirely constructed of bamboo and posts cut in the jungle, material is always at hand, and a few days' labour is all that is requisite for the completion of a new village. In the course of years a deserted clearance is covered with jungle, and in five or six years the process of cutting and burning may again pass over it. Thus a village of Karens wanders within certain limits, and occasionally after a shorter or longer period may go over its old clearances a second time.

The domestic habits of this race are more filthy than those of the Talains; they seem to have an aversion to frequent ablutions, and the clear waters of their mountain streams are much neglected; several absurd legends are assigned as the cause of this hydrophobic humour of the Karens, for them a most unfortunate prejudice. There is a remarkable absence of selfishness amongst them; they may be almost said to have things in common; whatever they have they will always willingly share with their village brethren. They are, as a race, handsomer, according to European notions, than the Talains or Burmans. Karens are fond of spirituous liquors, and on festive occasions the women are kept employed distilling the rice spirit upon which their husbands are getting drunk. Having originally no written characters in which to express their language, their laws and customs were orally transmitted from father to son. Bigamy was deemed dishonorable; adultery was punished with death; and the elders were in all matters of moment the judges and the leaders of the people. They have a singular custom of taking the bones and ashes of their dead to some place in the jungles known only to themselves; for this no sufficient reason is assigned by them, and the Talains and Burmese attribute the custom to the fact that a portion of the wealth of the deceased

is placed along with his bones and ashes; fear that these should be disturbed on account of the valuables deposited with them, induces secrecy as to what may be termed the sepulchral spots. The Talains assert that the revenge of a Karen is sure to follow the disturber of the remains of his fathers; be this as it may, the departure of a soul to the land of spirits is a festive occasion, and the friends and relatives meet to sing wild dirges, and drink till they can sing no longer.

Karens are lazy and averse to exertion, but good-tempered, very credulous, and more truthful than their more intelligent but less scrupulous neighbours. The arts are at low ebb among them, though some of their manufactures, particularly the bead-ornamented apparel of the women, are curious; the dress of the men is extremely simple, consisting usually of two blankets or pieces of the coarse cloth made by the women, sown together, so as to form a kind of armless coat or frock, with a part in the centre unsown, through which the head passes, and the same at the sides, for the arms. Karens are fond of singing and their airs are wild and pretty; the language being by no means unfavourable to the musical propensity of the people, and in itself exacting the greatest nicety and delicacy of ear and of pronunciation from the great play and variety of the vowel sounds which are distinguished in both dialects of their language.

Cholera, fever, and small pox are so much dreaded that Karens desert their villages and remove to other situations as soon as they are invaded by these scourges. The infected, unless they can move themselves, are left to their fate. Change of air and site seems the chief medical resource of the Karens; for their secondary ones, namely, offerings to the Nats of whatever they deem calculated to tickle fairy palates, do not appear to produce many very remarkable cures, though frequently resorted to.

Karens are, in their own way, bold hunters, and not above eating their own game even when a rhinoceros. They are however not bolder than the Talains, some of whom gain a livelihood by catching elephants, and prosecute this occupation in a most perilous manner; two men, mounted on a trained elephant and carrying a spear and a lasso made of leather rope, manage to get amongst a herd of wild elephants and then single out one to whom they give chase. The lasso is cast so as to catch one of the hind legs of the wild elephant; the other end of the lasso is fastened to the girdle of the trained animal, and the duty of the second man is to sit on the back of the elephant and to hold the coil and cast the lasso at the right moment;—



if the wild elephant turns, he is kept off by the spear point and the tame elephant; he usually however makes off as fast as he can, accompanied by the trained animal, who must have good paces; when the wild one is tired, or as soon as he affords his hunters a favorable opportunity, his further flight is arrested by a turn being taken round a stout tree, to which the lasso is ultimately made fast. Starvation for a time, and then the gift of food soon renders the wild animal manageable. Such a method of elephant hunting is, for many reasons, very perilous; but strange to say the men employed in this hazardous occupation have a greater dread of the tiger than of the elephant, being more frequently a prey to the former than to the latter; for nights must be passed in the jungle to watch for the herds of wild elephants, and for fear of scaring these, the usual precautions against the tiger cannot be taken, so that the elephant-catcher runs greater risk from the stealthy and murderous spring of the tiger than from the infuriate violence of his gigantic game, the elephant. No bolder, yet more superstitious Nat worshippers than this class of hunters!

In Amherst province a portion of the people are *Toung-thoos*; they are the best cultivators in the province, being the only people who understand the use of the plough. Distinct from the *Talains*, *Burmese*, and *Karens* by language, dress, and habits, their original country is not well ascertained; the name implies a hill man, and the use of the plough with a metal blade argues a higher country than the plains of *Pegu*, and a soil which required a more laborious culture than has been forced upon the people of the land of their adoption. Their pipes, their dresses, and other minor peculiarities indicate a more ingenious people; but their language and its literature remain unmastered by Europeans, and therefore little or nothing is known of the race except that they are esteemed good cultivators.

In the province of *Mergui* there is a considerable mixture of Siamese blood amongst the *Talains* and *Burmese*, but as the Siamese have intermarried with, and conformed to the laws and customs of, the people amongst whom they emigrated, no particular description is necessary.

Such may be said to have been the different races whom we found inhabiting the provinces ceded to the East India Company by the treaty of *Yandaboo*. *Moguls*, *Jews*, *Armenians*, *Chinese*, natives of the *Madras* and *Bengal* provinces, followed in the wake of our troops; and as soon as possession of the country was fairly taken, settled down, chiefly at *Moulmein*, in considerable numbers; but, like the Europeans, being

foreigners, they need not here be more particularly adverted to.

After the conclusion of the treaty of Yandaboo and the cession of the provinces to the East India Company, the question of selecting a suitable position for the main body of the force to be cantoned was a matter of great importance. At first, it was in contemplation to have stationed the troops at the mouth of the Salween at Amherst, but Sir A. Campbell ultimately selected the point of junction of the Salween, the Gyne, and the Attaran river for the permanent cantonment of the force. The advantage of this commanding position is so apparent, that in former days, most probably when the Portuguese took a part in the struggles of Pegu, it had not been overlooked, and the British troops found a spacious irregular quadrangle, on which to establish themselves, already surrounded by an earthen mound or rampart of considerable antiquity.\* Besides the numerous advantages of position in a military point of view, with reference to the protection of the frontier, the command of the rivers, and a close watch on the Burmese town and province of Martaban, the cantonment of Moulmein, is well raised, well drained, very healthy, and well supplied with water; whereas a difficulty on the latter point was found to exist at Amherst. The subsequent rise and progress of the timber trade, and the sufficiency of the river as a good port for shipping, had confirmed the wisdom of Sir A. Campbell's selection of Moulmein.

• The population of the provinces, when they fell into our hands, has been variously estimated, one calculation making it as low as ten thousand souls: but this is evidently an error; for the provinces of Tavoy and Mergui have been very stationary in the amount of population; indeed, the best informed persons doubt whether since our tenure of the country the people have on the whole increased or decreased. The same, with the exception of Moulmein, may be said of the northern province styled by the British province, Amherst; its villages afford no satisfactory proof of any remarkable increase of population since it has been in our possession. On the contrary, the increase is peculiarly slow—instead of 10,000 souls, the following would seem to be a fair estimate of the population before the Burmese War, caused a temporary fluctuation and disturbance:—

\* A similar enclosure, also of great antiquity, may be observed at the head of the Amherst inlet; it is seldom visited and but little known. In the local legends it is attributed to one of the ancient kings of Pegu.

|              |        |
|--------------|--------|
| Amherst..... | 40,000 |
| Tavoy.....   | 35,000 |
| Mergui.....  | 15,000 |
| <hr/>        |        |
| Total.....   | 90,000 |
| <hr/>        |        |

And it may be supposed that upon our occupation of the provinces and the restoration of order, there was no material difference in the numbers, except such as was due to the camp followers and troops stationed at Moulmein, Tavoy and Mergui.

Our rule necessarily commenced by disturbing as little as possible the systems of revenue, police, and justice, to which the people had been accustomed under their Burman Rulers. This, the usual course adopted in the administration of a recent conquest, was accompanied by an error, which has elsewhere been the concomitant of our extension of territory in the east. In lieu of restoring to the people the use of their own language, the Talain, that of their conquerors, the Burman, was by us continued as the official medium of communication and accounts. We thus, from the first, deprived ourselves of that support which the strong feeling of Talain nationality would have afforded; and the error was the more grievous, because, during the conduct of the war with Ava, every advantage was taken of one feature of Talain nationality, implacable hostility to the Burmese; and ordinary gratitude as well as policy, pointed out the propriety of restoring to our allies, when they became our subjects, the use of their own language, if only as an honorable acknowledgement of the sense entertained of their services. Far higher advantages would however have resulted from such a step; for it would, in all probability, have caused such an influx of the Mon or Talain population into our provinces as would shortly have rendered them much less a burthen than they have hitherto proved: and very possibly instead of a burthen, the receipts from these provinces might very shortly after occupation have covered, if not exceeded, their expenditure. By retaining the Burmese language as that of office, and by long indecision as to the permanent retention of the ceded provinces, we failed, when fear of Burman vengeance, was still operative to hold out any inducement to our Talain allies to settle under the protection of our Government; and thus neither benefitted ourselves nor them, but the Burmese, who in consequence of the course we pursued, retained the greater portion of a people that were otherwise ready, if en-

couraged to have crossed over to British protection. The population is now as follows:—

*Mergui.*

|                       |        |        |
|-----------------------|--------|--------|
| Town and suburbs..... | 12,000 |        |
| Province.....         | 8,000  |        |
|                       | <hr/>  | 20,000 |

*Tavoy.*

|                       |        |        |
|-----------------------|--------|--------|
| Town and Suburbs..... | 10,358 |        |
| Province.....         | 26,996 |        |
|                       | <hr/>  | 37,354 |

*Amherst.*

|                           |        |        |
|---------------------------|--------|--------|
| Moulmein and Suburbs..... | 30,000 |        |
| Province.....             | 45,000 |        |
|                           | <hr/>  | 75,000 |

|            |       |          |
|------------|-------|----------|
| Total..... | <hr/> | 1,50,415 |
|------------|-------|----------|

A very thin population for the area of the provinces, and the productive powers of their soil!

REVENUE.—The chief portion of the state revenue, derived from the land, was, by the Burmese, levied in kind; rice, the staple article of food is grown throughout the provinces; and one-fourth of the crop was nominally the share claimed by the government, although in reality owing to the exactions of unchecked subordinates it was larger. Garden produce and fruit trees of all descriptions, when bearing, likewise yielded revenue—other items of receipt were from the farming of fisheries, of turtle-banks, bazars and town dues. As the provinces were distant from the court of Ava, and were therefore not under good control, they were a prey to the Burman governors and their subordinates; tyranny and exaction rendered the revenue demands much more oppressive than any simple statement of the basis of the system conveys. With the exception of receiving the revenue derived from rice cultivation either in kind or commuted in money, we adopted the above fiscal system, conducting it by means of the same instrumentality as had been employed by the Burmese. Simple and well suited to a native government, and theoretically favorable for the cultivator, the system of taking revenue from the land in kind fails under British officers: for, having little or no knowledge of the language and of the habits or customs of the people, they have small power of coping with the dishonesty and cunning of interested subordinates; the exact limit of their power is well

known, and it is not difficult for native craft to frustrate the best intentions and to mislead in the exercise of power.

Melancholy as the fact may appear a more intimate acquaintance with the Burmese language and the habits of the people has not in general been found productive of corresponding advantages; for, however much to be deplored, historic faithfulness requires it to be stated, that Government functionaries, especially in former times, have too often acquired such knowledge by forming connections calculated neither to secure the respect of the native community, nor to heighten their own moral sensibilities; connections which inevitably surround them with needy favorites and relatives, whose whole aim is corruption and extortion. Through the machinations of such a home circle, as it may be called, the advantages of a more intimate acquaintance with the official language, manners, and feelings of a people are at least nullified, and have too frequently been turned to their positive disadvantage; the native favorite never forgetting that it may be the privilege of the wife of a judge or governor in Burmah, as elsewhere, to assist in the decision of suits, to hold their own courts, and to exercise as much power as the facility, not to say corruption, of their protectors, can connive at. Of the two classes of functionaries, the man of comparative ignorance, free from the baneful influence of such connections, has usually been found more respected and better able to check the malpractices of subordinates, than is the case with a man whose misfortune it has been to have acquired greater knowledge of the vernacular language and the habits of any people, through a medium corruptive of his own character, qualities, and efficiency.

With fluctuations and many errors the Burman system was continued from the first occupation of the provinces until Mr. Blundell made a vain endeavour to introduce a seven years' settlement, and a money assessment founded on the value and area of land under cultivation. He failed in his attempt in consequence of the opposition of subordinates to which he yielded; indeed with the high rates of assessment which he adopted and enforced, it was impossible that any system could stand,—the burthen being so severe and the administration so lax and oppressive, that much land was thrown out of cultivation; and the evil of excessive assessment, increased by a year of murrain among the cattle, threatened to be most fatal to the prosperity of the provinces.

The evils of the existing system quickly presented themselves to Major Broadfoot when he assumed charge of the Tenasserim provinces in April 1843, and he zealously set about

their reformation. He attacked corruption in its various forms and positions, and supported by the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, checked by severe examples the malpractices which had become habitual. Shameless as was proved to have been the conduct of one of the British functionaries, and compromised as was that of others, Major Broadfoot was made the subject of calumny and misrepresentation for the line which he pursued. In the provinces much more was known than came to Major Broadfoot's notice, but, in so far as it came to his knowledge, he, confident in the support of the Governor-General, acted boldly in putting down dishonesty.

Occupied with the punishment of corruption, Major Broadfoot became keenly alive to the constant opportunity which the then existing system offered to subordinates for exaction and malpractices, and he therefore determined to supersede the old by an entirely new land assessment. He accordingly altered the whole fiscal system of the provinces, substituting a fixed money payment in lieu of the levy of one-fourth of the grain in kind or commuted in money; he abolished taxes on trees and garden produce, and those on turtle-banks and fisheries; in place of the latter he established a species of poll-tax so regulated that a cultivator paid about one-third of what was exacted from a non-cultivator. So radical a change in the revenue system of the provinces, one so novel to the people and to the subordinate officials through whom it must necessarily be carried into effect, required, even if advisable, more of thought and deliberation than was given to it; greater preparation of instruments; and far more knowledge of the country than was to be found amongst the officers of the commission, who, to a man, were ignorant of all revenue matters; had never turned their attention to the subject: and who, moreover, owing to the great number of native subordinates removed from their charges for corruption, found themselves unaided by the new and thoroughly inexperienced native functionaries given to assist them.

However faulty in principle a system of taxation may be or appear to be, it has usually arisen gradually and adapted itself to the habits and circumstances of the people, and any sudden change which may sweep away such existing system will be found productive of great confusion and difficulty; general principles, however correct and admirable in theory, having by no means the property, by their bare enunciation, of suddenly altering the habits, feelings, and prejudices of a people. The old system, as administered under facile British functionaries, had, however, been so severe in consequence of the

universal corruption and malpractices of the native subordinates, that, when the cultivators, as in the neighbourhood of Moulmein, were under the influence of the presence of Major Broadfoot and of the encouragement and hopes which he held out to them, the new system was apparently well received; the people were ignorant of its working, but as nothing could be worse than the old they had no objection to try the new. Major Broadfoot had only time to introduce it in province Amherst, where a commencement was made and with apparent success.

Matters were in this state, when, in September 1844, Captain Durand relieved Major Broadfoot, and assuming charge of the provinces, had immediately to take up the question of the revenue assessments. In the provinces of Tavoy and Mergui a set of revenue rules, abrogating the old system, and announcing the basis of the new, had been promulgated, but nothing done towards carrying the new measure into effect; he, therefore, assembled in each province the elders of villages, and having caused the new system to be long and carefully explained to them, effected through their agency a land assessment in each province,—the people in fact taxing themselves. The new system, thus introduced, was favorably received in spite of its novelty, and the experiment of acting through the people proved not only productive of satisfaction to them, but also no loss to the Government; on the contrary a small increase of receipts has steadily followed this, in the east, a rather unusual method of taxation; and the provinces of Tavoy and Mergui are quick and ready in paying in the annual revenue. In province Amherst, the land assessment, newly established by Major Broadfoot, was found too heavy, and was, after laborious enquiry and several revenue circuits, considerably lowered by Captain Durand, who, on a personal inspection, discovered the unequal working of the new system, and that land nominally assessed at two rupees per acre, was paying from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to five rupees the acre of cultivation. Dr. Richardson was ordered to institute a careful inquiry and to survey the richest district in province Amherst, that of the island of Beloogyoon. Aware of the importance of the duty entrusted to him and anxious to benefit the people, he devoted himself to the work with a zeal which cost him his life, but not before he had collected data on which to found an assessment of an equitable and reasonable character. The same course was to have been pursued with the other districts of the province, but the sudden loss of Dr. Richardson and the want of any officer who could replace him in carrying out the measures, delayed its execution. Pending its completion, however, and with reference to the diminished

quantity of specie thrown into the country in consequence of the great reduction of force carried into effect by Captain Durand, he largely lowered the land assessment in province Amherst; and if the system introduced into these provinces by Major Broadfoot is to be maintained, namely, that of a money assessment, the measure commenced by Dr. Richardson must not be too long delayed, otherwise, timely lowered as the assessment was by Captain Durand, it will nevertheless not continue to work well or satisfactorily.

Since the provinces have fallen into our hands a branch of revenue has arisen unknown to their former Burman holders, namely, that derived from teak forests. Upon the acquisition of the provinces in 1825 the existence of teak became known, and, in 1827, Dr. Wallich was deputed to explore and report upon the forests. He partially explored those on the Salween and Attaran, and gave a favorable account of the timber to be found in them. The Commissioner Mr. Maingay then proposed that licenses to cut timber upon certain conditions should be granted to private individuals; but there does not appear to have been much anxiety on the part of speculators to support the proposition, and the Government continued to hold its forests. To attract attention to them, and with the view of developing their resources, a limited experiment was made, and, in March 1828, a shipment of 511 logs for Calcutta was despatched, but the experiment had been so conducted as to be very costly, and the cost not being covered by the price which was obtained at public auction for the timber, Government became alarmed at a result which in reality proved nothing except the folly of an experiment, so conducted and on such a small scale. The further preparation of timber for Government was henceforth discontinued, and Mr. Maingay, in 1829, received the sanction of Government to throw open the timber trade under certain rules which he published, and which fixed an *ad valorem* duty of fifteen per cent. as that to be paid to Government on timber brought from the forests. The impulse thus given to the trade began to be felt in 1833, by the June of which year 7309 tons of converted, that is, sawed and squared teak, had been exported since the opening of the forests in 1829; three vessels also had been built, and four were building at Moulmein. From that period the timber trade and ship building increased rather rapidly, and the temporary prosperity of the provinces was furthered; but it was so, at the expence of their resources, owing to the absence of any effective conservancy or check upon the timber-cutters. It is true that the permits



to fell timber were revocable at will, and that the holders were always so informed; also that trees, of less than four feet girth, were liable to confiscation, if felled; but the conservancy establishment of one forester and eight or ten coolies was not well calculated efficiently to enforce any set of rules; and the revocation of permits for abuse of trust and destruction of forests could not well be enforced when the forests were unvisited by any European functionaries, and no pains were taken to ascertain the conduct of the parties holding the permits. Mr. Blundell became alive to the necessity of affording some degree of protection to the long-neglected forests, and in 1837 suggested a revocation of permits and the establishment of a conservancy department. Dr. Helfer, Lieut. Halsted, and Capt. O'Brien examined the forests, and the latter officer reported strongly on their waste and rapid destruction, combating the opinions of others who deemed them inexhaustible, and earnestly recommending an efficient conservancy. After much deliberation, a conservator, Captain Tremeneere, was appointed at the beginning of 1841, but the revocation of permits was not then acceded to. The subject of forests appears to have occupied the attention of Government during that year mainly in consequence of the supply of teak timber to Her Majesty's dock-yards from the Tenasserim Coast, forming matter of consideration. Dr. Richardson had been sent into the Shan States, and reported on the resources of the tracts he traversed; Mr. Seppings was deputed to Moulmein and reported favorably on the facility of supplying teak timber to the British Naval dock-yards, and of building ships of war at Moulmein. Thus circumstanced Mr. Blundell submitted a set of rules for the working and preservation of the teak forests in the Tenasserim provinces, the value of which had then been ascertained; and he obtained the sanction of Government to the promulgation of the rules. The idea of drawing supplies of teak timber for Her Majesty's dock-yards not being immediately acted upon, the mercantile demand for timber rapidly increasing, and the conservator of forests being able to pay but small attention to his charge, the holders of permits were unchecked in their proceedings; and immediate profit being the sole object in view, no attention whatever was paid to the rules of 1841.

Matters continued in this state until Major Broadfoot turned his attention to the subject, being forced to do so in consequence of the state in which he found our relations with the Burmese. The reckless conduct of the timber

merchants on the Salween had well nigh embroiled us in hostilities, and had rendered this frontier river, down which all the teak timber coming to Moulmein is floated, a scene of confusion and violence.

Engaged with these and other difficulties he had not either time or opportunity more than very partially to turn his attention to the question of forest conservancy, though forced to check anarchy and wanton violence along the Thoongeen forests by closing them against the timber merchants and prohibiting the felling of timber along this the north east frontier of the province; a strong measure, but essential for the preservation of peace and good order.

*Timber Revenue.*

|              | RS.     | AS. | P. |
|--------------|---------|-----|----|
| 1833.....    | 13,457  | 7   | 10 |
| 1836.....    | 20,803  | 14  | 4  |
| 1839-40..... | 21,727  | 10  | 10 |
| 1840-41..... | 29,244  | 15  | 7  |
| 1841-42..... | 55,108  | 9   | 1  |
| 1842-43..... | 52,924  | 2   | 4  |
| 1843-44..... | 43,008  | 10  | 6  |
| 1844-45..... | 20,897  | 0   | 0  |
| 1845-46..... | 107,048 | 13  | 4  |

The above table sets forth the gradual rise of the receipts from this branch of the revenue; from 1829 to 1841-42 there was a steady increase, but in 1842-43 there occurred a sudden depression in consequence of the misunderstanding which arose with the Burmese, and the disorderly conduct of the timber dealers. In 1843 Major Broadfoot having adjusted our frontier relations with the Burmese, and thus facilitated the raftage of timber down the Salween, and having also introduced some system in the department of the timber duty collector, the nominal receipts rose to one lakh and thirty-one thousand rupees, but the amount was not realized,—upwards of 98,000 rupees being at the end of that year unsettled. His prohibition to felling and removing teak from the forests of the Thoongeen caused the receipts for 1844-45 to fall to about 21,000 rupees.

The prohibition suddenly imposed was a hardship upon those dealers who had laid out capital on the felling of timber in the Thoongeen forests by making advances to the foresters, and though the complaints on this account were in general very gross exaggerations, and frequently entirely false, Captain Du-

rand temporarily removed the prohibition in order to give full time to such persons as might really have laid out cash advances in the felling of timber, to remove the same. Precautions were also taken to afford greater security to the floatage of timber in the upper part of the Salween river both at the Boom below the falls, where the timber is collected together into rafts, and also below this point, where, in consequence of rapids, rafts are often endangered. The revenue receipts again rose in 1845-46 to a lakh and seven thousand rupees of fair payment into the treasury.

Captain Durand's measures nevertheless excited great hostility to himself amongst those engaged in the timber trade; he traversed the Thoongeen forests and made himself acquainted by local examination and inquiry with the system which had there prevailed; he also obtained information as to the conduct of the holders of permits where such had been granted, and as soon as Captain Guthrie took charge of the Conservancy of the forests, that officer's attention was called to the subject.

Captain Guthrie, after a thorough and most careful examination of the forest, found that the permit-holders utterly neglected the forest rules in force, and were destroying the Government property in a shameful manner, utterly regardless of every consideration but present profit. Conservator and superintendent of forests, he very properly brought the delinquents forward, and it happened that the first, or amongst the first, were the agents of the firm of Messrs. Cockerell and Co. in whose hands was the Megwa forest. No better instance of the manner in which the occupiers of Government forests fulfill their trusts could well have been brought forward, for the firm is one of the leading ones, having an establishment at Moulmein, and is known to be influential in Calcutta, and to stand high, and deservedly so, in general estimation; if from any, attention to conditions was to be expected, their agents might be anticipated to set an example. This did not prove to be the case, or at any rate the example set was a very bad one. In the course of *ten hours* the officials of the Forest Department measured and recorded upwards of 600 undersized trees killed but not felled, and upwards of 260 undersized trees felled,—making in all above 860 undersized trees killed. Besides the foregoing, 164 full-sized trees, ninety-three undersized, and ninety-nine rooks (valuable in ship-building) were found burning!!

The Megwa Forest contained at the time about 2,400 growing teak trees, six feet girth and upwards, and two

thousand (2,000) under that girth, besides two thousand (2,000) killed and ninety-four felled under the proper girth. The rapid exhaustion of the Forests under such a mode of procedure may be easily understood, as also the necessity for checking such waste of valuable public property.

Captain Guthrie decided that the Megwa Forest should be resumed. In the meantime Messrs. Cockerell and Co. appear to have addressed themselves to the Deputy Governor of Bengal, Sir T. H. Maddock, complaining against the proceedings of Captain Guthrie, and to have succeeded in obtaining the transmission of an order to the Commissioner, directing him on its receipt to restore to Messrs. Cockerell and Co. the forest resumed.

These instructions,—passed, we may presume, in entire ignorance of the merits of the case, except, perhaps, as these might very naturally be represented by the firm, whose pecuniary interests were at stake,—reached Captain Durand after he had passed his decision on the appeal made to him by Messrs. Cockerell and Co. and had remitted the award,—having found, on examination of records, that the penalty clause, the only one by which the Rules promulgated for observance could be enforced, had been temporarily suspended, though not abrogated, and that therefore neither the Commissioner nor the Superintendent of Forests, had any power whatever to check the most unscrupulous violation of the Rules nominally put forth for the preservation of the Forests! In remitting the award, however, Captain Durand did not conceal his entire approval of the decision of Captain Guthrie, passed as it was in ignorance of the trap undesignedly laid for him by this secret qualification of the publicly notified Rules of 1841, and intimated that these Rules would in future be enforced,—naturally anticipating that it required but a clear statement of the facts of the case to insure immediate instructions to enforce, where in future requisite, the Penalty clause.

The holders of Forests were but little pleased that such a warning should be given, and such an exposure made of the care and attention paid by them to their trust. The utter neglect of the Government stipulations was further well exemplified by the fact, that, in consequence of Captain Durand's temporary removal of the prohibition on the working in the Thoongeen Forests, 8,922 trees were brought from thence, out of which 4,497, that is about two-thirds of the whole amount, were undersized, and therefore ought by rule to have been confiscated. Captain Durand ordered that a small extra

duty should be levied on this undersized timber, remitting the extreme penalty of confiscation, but warning the public that the ensuing season it would be enforced;—a measure absolutely necessary on public grounds, and favorable to the real interests of the timber market, but disagreeable to the short-sighted selfishness of many private interests.

The very natural alarm of Messrs. Cockerell and Co. and of other timber dealers, was not diminished by the fact of the Supreme Government of India again taking up the idea first mooted in 1841, during the time that Lord Auckland was Governor-General. In March 1846 the Commissioner received orders from the President in Council, Sir T. H. Maddock, to purchase for Her Majesty's Navy all the best teak timber suitable for ship-building at Moulmein, and to report without delay the extent to which he would be able to procure supplies of timber for the Navy from the Tenasserim provinces. There was a great demand for timber in the home market at the time these instructions were received, houses in Moulmein having obtained advices of £15 per ton for good teak as having been given; but, from the state of the money market both in Calcutta and at Moulmein, there was at the latter place a great dearth of cash, and consequently, with the exercise of some discretion and judgment, the orders of the Supreme Government could be effected at a more moderate rate than would have been the case had money been more plentiful amongst the mercantile community at Moulmein. Forming a Committee, composed of the Commissioner as president, Captain Guthrie the Superintendent of Forests, and Captain Rowlandson, the Commissariat Officer, as members, Captain Durand, in obedience to positive Government orders, towards the end of March 1846, commenced making extensive purchases in the timber market. As Captain Rowlandson, in the faithful discharge of his public official duties, had for some time been engaged in despatching small quantities of timber to the Madras presidency, his purchases for the Supreme Government at first called forth no surprise; but, as their sphere increased, the fact excited observation, and ultimately, though not till the far greater part of the timber had been purchased, the object of the Government in thus entering the market became known at a time when the fact could exercise little or no influence on prices. The whole of these transactions were of course unpalatable to Messrs. Cockerell and Co. who had embarked with so much vigour on the timber trade, and who, together with the remainder of the timber dealers, could not be expected

to admire the intimation contained in a circular, which, with reference to pending measures, Captain Durand thought it but fair to the traders to issue.\*

On the 7th July, Messrs. Cockerell and Co. in their own name and that of others, petitioned Sir T. H. Maddock against the proceedings of the local authorities, because at the expiration of the time for which Captain Durand had opened temporarily the Thoongeen Forests, those Forests, reserved by order of the Court of Directors for Government purposes, were closed to the native contractors of Messrs. Cockerell and Co. and the others interested in the timber trade. This renewal of the prohibition was quite in accordance with the specification made, when it was temporarily suspended—affording ample time for the removal of felled timber by those who had a claim to it. No one had any right or title to work the forests, not even a permit to show, though the agent of Messrs. Cockerell and Co. had once the hardihood to file, in the course of a suit, which was in appeal before the Commissioner's Court, a document by which the right was made over to the said agent not only of an extensive tract of country on the left, or British bank of the Thoongeen, but also a similar tract on the right or Shan side of the river! The person who made this notable transfer was a common forester engaged by Messrs. Cockerell and Co.'s agent on contract to bring down timber from the forests for that firm! However, on receipt of the petition, orders were immediately issued by Sir T. H. Maddock to suspend all further measures or purchases for the supply of Her Majesty's Navy; and thus were suddenly brought to a close transactions which would have secured a constant supply of excellent teak for the British dock-yards. Captain Durand, not satisfied with the mere resources of the provinces, had secured the readiness of the Chief of the Kareni country to give, at a most reasonable rate, to the British Government, the whole of the fine teak in his country: the British Government might thus have calculated on an annual supply of good teak, varying, as might

## CIRCULAR.

Moulmein 12th June 1846.

GENTLEMEN,—Although awaiting further despatches, which have not as yet reached me, I think it right, in consideration of any effect which the circumstance may have on the interests of those engaged in the timber trade, at once to inform you, that the Government for the future looks to the resources of the Tenasserim provinces for supplies of timber for Government purposes, and that these supplies will be procured through the agency of its own officers.

(Signed)

H. M. DURAND,  
Commissioner T. P.

be its wants, from ten to twelve thousand tons, from the port of Moulmein, at one-half the price for which they can now purchase it; at the same time the Supreme Government would have had its reserve forests not overworked, and the resources of the Tenasserim provinces, under their own control, not drained and exhausted.

Messrs. Cockerell and Co., as we understand, in their petition to Sir T. H. Maddock, had, not unnaturally, recourse to the old expedient, so thoroughly well understood in these provinces, of applying to have the whole forest question examined into, and the system placed on a permanent footing, and that in the mean time things should be allowed to proceed as timber-dealers wished. The question had been under consideration for the last fourteen or fifteen years; and the request, we say not in intention, but certainly in effect, was synonymous with an application for permission to exhaust the Thoongeen Forests with the same ruthless rapidity as has been allowed in those for which permits have been granted, and which are now in the hands of Messrs. Cockerell and Co. and other firms and individuals.

Captain Durand, it is well known, spoke as plainly officially as privately on the character of these proceedings, but the request appears to have been virtually acceded to,—the Government having hitherto promulgated no definite orders or instructions, except notifying a reference to the Home Authorities, i. e. a reference which may probably ensure several years of active, unchecked Forest destruction. Be this as it may, the revenue derivable from the duty, or properly speaking, rent, on the timber, is a considerable item in the receipts of these provinces: but the timber trade, as carried on at Moulmein, is very much of a gambling character. And the Salween River, the channel by which the timber reaches Moulmein, being the Frontier stream to the British, Shan, and Burman countries, and the latter people making a good deal of money by any timber they can intercept, and being thus under a constant temptation to take advantage of the rights which possession of one of the river banks affords them for interference, and of the opportunity which accident may present to them;—this trade, carried on in the manner it is, and by the class of persons locally engaged in it, forms a constant source of misunderstanding and danger to our relations with the Burmese authorities.

A clear notion of the teak timber resources of the Amherst province will be obtained by noting that there are at present growing in its forests, on the left or British bank of the Thoongeen, 51,000 trees under six feet girth, and 29,000 above;

Houndrao Forests 1,121 under and 473 above; Wengo Forests 5,825 under and 3,279 above; Zimmai Forests 7,088 under and 1,821 above; making a total of 65,034 undersized and 34,573 full sized above six feet girth. From these Forests, without detriment, 3,250 trees, or about 5,000 tons, might be taken annually. The Forests occupied by private individuals are—on the Salween and Hlaing Boag Rivers 10,000 under and 2,900 above six feet girth; Wengau River 14,485 under and 2,202 above; Zimmai River 35,898 under and 17,820 above; making a total of 60,383 trees under and 22,922 above six feet girth; consequently, from 2,100 trees per annum, or about 3,000 tons might be taken, without detriment, to the Forests. Altogether, therefore, without injury to the Forests, above 8,000 tons of teak cannot be taken, if the object kept in view, be, that the number of full-sized trees taken, be equal to the number of undersized coming annually to full size.

The quantity of timber brought to Moulmein is much larger than the foregoing from three causes; first, no attention is paid to the Forest rules, and, as before shewn, nearly two-thirds of the logs brought to market are undersized timbers; secondly, much timber is brought from the right bank of the Thoongeen, which is rich in teak; thirdly, some timber is brought from the Kareni country, though far less than is pretended,—much which comes from the Thoongeen being styled Kareni, in consequence of the name the latter has justly obtained for quality. The whole of the timber brought along the Salween has to pass down the falls of that river, for which purpose the rafts are broken up, and the timber is allowed to be swept down in single pieces. It has then to be collected below the falls at a place where a boom is made across from the British side by the attachment of a rope to a rock on the Burmese side of the river: pieces of timber are bound to this hawser, and the floating trees are thus stopped and drawn in to the shore by the parties in canoes on the look out for their own property.

When it is considered that many different rafts are thus to be cast loose above the falls and re-collected below them; that the marks stamped on the timbers are easily effaced or cut off, and other stamps put on; that the boom place, the rendezvous for the foresters and rafters, is notorious for the riot and disorder in which spirit and opium shops afford the opportunity of indulgence; and that persons, old hands at the trade, are always on the spot to take advantage of the confusion which exists;—when all this is duly considered, some idea may be formed of the tricks played and the honesty-pervading operations carried on



at a spot some eighty miles from Moulmein. If to this be superadded not only the real risk from the Burmese but the fictions use frequently made of the same, a still clearer conception may be formed of the gambling character of the trade, and the complexity of the endless disputes arising amongst the dealers.

The profits of the trade may be imagined from the fact that the average rate of contract with the native foresters is twelve rupees per tree delivered at Moulmein; sometimes the contracts are as low as nine rupees per tree; occasionally they are as high as fifteen or even seventeen rupees the tree, according to distance and difficulty of transit from Forests. The full-sized log gives on an average one and a third ton of squared timber; the shipper coming to Moulmein for cargo does not get fair timber on board at less than fifty rupees the ton; and in England it has lately sold as high as £15, or 150 rupees per ton.

It will be seen by the following table that there has been a steady, though a slow increase of revenue receipts in the Tenasserim provinces :—

|              | RS.      | AS. | P. |
|--------------|----------|-----|----|
| 1833.....    | 3,32,164 | 9   | 4  |
| 1836.....    | 3,33,186 | 15  | 6  |
| 1839.....    | 4,01,238 | 11  | 11 |
| 1839-40..... | 4,55,777 | 14  | 2  |
| 1840-41..... | 4,37,695 | 7   | 2  |
| 1841-42..... | 4,54,776 | 3   | 2  |
| 1842-43..... | 4,40,928 | 15  | 4  |
| 1843-44..... | 4,70,135 | 10  | 6  |
| 1844-45..... | 4,53,590 | 8   | 10 |
| 1845-46..... | 5,17,034 | 15  | 9  |

The civil expenditure of the provinces may be taken at four lakhs of rupees; the military expenditure has varied much more than the civil. In 1833, it appears to have been about 4,16,357 rupees; in 1836, it rose to 6,44,226 rupees; in 1839, to 11,71,930 rupees; and continued at about 12 lakhs of rupees until Captain Durand, by heavy retrenchments in the Commissariat Department and by dispensing with a regiment of native infantry and a regiment of European infantry, reduced it to less than one-half that amount.

These reductions were completed at a time when the actions of Múdkí and Ferozshah were not understood by our Burman neighbours to have been very decisive of our supremacy, and both in Calcutta and in Moulmein it was thought that the Commissioner hazarded much in stripping the pro-

vinces so bare of troops; but the result proved that Captain Durand's confidence was not erroneous, although left with only one corps of Native Infantry, a police corps without arms, and an inefficient river police.

Much military expenditure was in contemplation in the early part of 1844, upon fortifications, but it does not appear to have met with more encouragement from Captain Durand than did the excessive Commissariat establishments; after his arrival no more was heard of the Moulmein Fortifications and the thousands they were to cost. He, however, slightly increased the civil expenditure by proposing additions to the officers and establishments, and by separating his own office and Court from that of the magistrate of the province. A General Hospital, which he established, cost the Government nothing additional, and has proved a blessing to the port and town of Moulmein.

The prospect of the provinces being able to cover their Civil and Military Expenditure is remote, unless British capital can be induced to turn to them. The want of population, and the consequently very high price of labour, is unfavorable to any such diversion of capital, though nowhere can land, admirably adapted for the culture of sugar, be more easily obtained, and that in the neighbourhood of excellent water carriage. In all the provinces there is much valuable land, but particularly in that of Mergui, where many tropical productions can be grown, and where the sugar-cane thrives remarkably well. So scanty, however, is the population, and such their agricultural habits, that no sugar speculation would succeed, unless coolies from the Madras and Bengal Coasts were imported, and a sugar cultivating colony formed with their aid.

Coal and Tin have been worked in this province, but with inconsiderable success and small profit. Tin works ought, however, to succeed in consequence of the great abundance of the metal, the ores being very rich; but the barbarous system followed by the few Chinese speculators at Mylewan on the Pak Chan is not calculated to produce a favorable out-turn to such a venture as that on which they engaged.

The Chinese settlers in the Tenasserim provinces are chiefly petty traders and carpenters, attracted to Moulmein by the work and high wages which ship-builders give them. Except a few gardeners, the Chinese have shown but little disposition to enter upon either agricultural or horticultural pursuits; were they, however, to turn their attention to these branches of industry, the improvement in the provinces would be much more rapid than has hitherto been the case.

The export of rice from the provinces is inconsiderable, its price being much higher than in the neighbouring provinces of Arracan. In 1846, in consequence of the dearth on the Madras Coast, several cargoes of rice were shipped, and there are usually a small number of junks which export grain to the Straits settlements, but this branch of traffic is, comparatively speaking, very trifling.

**POLICE.**—The Police system of the provinces has continued on the Burman model. Each village has its Thoogee, or head man, assisted by one, two, or more Kyedangees, according to the size of the village. The Thoogee assists in the collection of the revenue, and has charge of the village accounts and records, such as they are. What with his revenue functions and his Police duties and responsibilities, the post is one of importance and an object of ambition. He receives 10 per cent. on the revenue collected in his district, out of which allowance the Kyedangees are paid by the Thoogee, who makes his own terms with them. The office of Thoogee is filled either by an election amongst the villagers, confirmed by the Commissioner, or by the latter himself, appointing a capable individual,—the one or other course of filling up vacancies being resorted to according to circumstances.

Each province is divided into a certain number of large districts, at the head of each of which a Goung Gyouk is placed. These officers issue orders to the Thoogees on all matters connected with Police duties, and with the good order of their charges, receiving their own instructions from the officers in charge of provinces, that is, the Magistrates.

Except a few peons attached to the Magistrate's Courts and to the Goung Gyouks, there is no provincial Police, the Thoogees exercising their functions through the instrumentality of the Kyedangees and villagers, when delinquents have to be pursued or apprehended. A Police Corps was raised by Major Broadfoot, the head-quarters of which are at Moulmein, and detachments at Tavoy and Mergui. This body of men takes the Police duties of the towns of Moulmein, Tavoy, and Mergui, and are intended to strengthen in case of need the hands of the Magistrates. The corps is about 600 men strong, having usually 400 men at Moulmein, and 100 at each of the towns of Tavoy and Mergui. In addition to its Police duties, that of guarding convict parties at work is assigned to it; and with the view of attaining some degree of despatch in the transmission of information and reports, a party of fifty men, mounted on the small ponies of the country, are dignified with the appellation of the mounted company. From the foregoing it will be

observed, that with the exception of the Police corps, the provinces are free from any such pest to the native community as is the police of Bengal.

On the Salween, for the protection of the river, there is a Flotilla of gun boats and guard canoes, but much cannot be said of its efficiency,—the Bengal lascars of which it is composed being but ill calculated for the duty. Dakoity is by no means uncommon on this frontier river, and is carried on with more or less activity, according as the vigilance of the Magistrates and their subordinates is more or less remarkable. The river and Moulmein itself were never so free from dakoity as during the time that Captain Impey commanded the Local Corps, and was Police Magistrate at Moulmein. The neighbourhood of Martaban and the Burmese provinces, with the intricacies of many creeks and nullahs and of numerous islands, renders the escape of dakoits comparatively easy, and their pursuit in the heavy monsoon rains of this coast difficult. Moulmein and its neighbourhood, as the richest field, is of course most liable to depredation, whenever want of alertness on the part of the Magistrate and the Police afford a fitting opportunity; in 1846, neither courage nor ingenuity was wanting amongst the dakoits, and the Police, both on land and river, was completely baffled by them; they were said, in the province of Tavoy, with which some of them were connected, and where the ringleaders were well known, to have an excellent understanding with a native who stood high in the confidence of the province Magistrate, and who had been entrusted by him with the command of the swift armed canoes employed with the view of aiding the Flotilla in suppressing dakoity—but which of course did nothing.

The late Commissioner, Captain Durand, was known to have in contemplation the remodelling of the Flotilla, with the view of rendering it a more efficient river police. Gun-boats are useless on a river so rapid, that the strength of the stream prevents their being of any service, except as floating stations for the crews of the guard canoes: the departure and return of these from the gun-boats are easily watched from either bank of the river, and the operation of pouncing on dakoits not facilitated by their exact knowledge of the movements of the police. Some change is advisable to adapt the Flotilla to its object and to render it more efficient; what Captain Durand's contemplated changes may have been, was never promulgated, though after experience of the working of the Flotilla, his dissatisfaction with the constitution of this expensive and inefficient branch of police was well known.

Considering the peculiar circumstances of the provinces,

the Police is on the whole more efficient than might be expected. It is under the control of the Commissioner, who is vested with the powers of Superintendent of Police.

**JUSTICE.**—The Burmese Law, and therefore the Burmese courts, makes no clear distinction between Civil and Criminal Law; the judge or Tseekay hears both Civil and Criminal cases indifferently as they may come before him. Though in their treatises thus mixed together, yet the Civil Law, in its main features, admits of being clearly enough defined and extricated from this fusion with the Criminal Law. Its principles with regard to property, to marriage, to divorce, to hereditary rights are distinct, and our courts have nominally endeavoured to administer to the Talains and Burmans their own Civil Law. Their Criminal Law is less clear in its principles; on material points, not compatible with our ideas; and therefore not followed by our courts, which can accordingly scarcely be said to have administered any one particular code of Criminal Law.

The Courts are furnished for their guidance with a set of “rules for the administration of Civil and Criminal Justice in the Tenasserim provinces.” The rules are few and simple, but evidently drawn up by some one better acquainted with the theoretical works of one or two English jurisconsults than with the circumstances, habits, and character of the different races forming the population of the Tenasserim provinces; they therefore contain provisions which have never yet been carried into effect, and the inapplicability of which Mr. Blundell, when he first received the rules, pointed out.

The officers entrusted with the exercise of judicial functions are

1. Commissioner.
2. Assistants.
3. Tseekays.
4. Goung Gyauks.

In civil cases the Goung Gyauks may receive and try original suits, to any amount arising within their districts. The Tseekays may do the same in their districts, and take appeals from Goung Gyauks' decisions referred to them by the assistants. The assistants try appeals from the decisions of the Goung Gyauks and Tseekays; they may call for and try any original suit pending before Goung Gyauks or Tseekays, and may remove any suit pending in the Court of one Goung Gyauk to that of a Tseekay, or to the Court of another Goung Gyauk.

The Commissioner may receive and try all appeals from

decisions passed by his assistants, and all special appeals, and he may also call for and try any appeal or any original suit pending in any tribunal within his jurisdiction; and may remove such from any one court to any other court.

In criminal cases the Goung Gyouks can try petty charges, and can sentence to imprisonment in the stocks for twelve hours. Tseekays can sentence to double the amount of fine and imprisonment that can be assigned by Goung Gyouks.

Assistants can sentence to imprisonment with or without labour for two years, or to fine up to 500 rupees, commutable, if not paid, to a further imprisonment for two years. Every assistant may before or during trial, remove any case from any one to any other subordinate court.

The Commissioner may receive and try all cases upon commitment by an assistant, and may sentence to unlimited imprisonment or fine. Sentence of death must be confirmed by the Nizamut Adalut. The Commissioner may remove any case before, or during trial, from any one court to any other court.

Such are the powers of the several Courts in civil and criminal cases. It may be noted that the Tseekays are somewhat analogous to Principal Sudder Amins in India; they are four in number; two at Moulmein, one at Tavoy, and one at Mergui, and are the highest native judicial officers.

The rules contain a series of sections regarding juries, by which all serious or heinous offences of such a nature that the accused, if convicted, would be sentenced to imprisonment for more than six months, or to fine commutable to such imprisonment, shall be adjudged with the assistance of a jury. Then follow various rules as to the annual publication of lists of qualified jurors, rotation of jurors, notice, attendance, pay, &c. &c. Mr. Blundell, on receiving the rules, pointed out the extreme difficulty which besets the sections relative to juries, and their inapplicability to the state of the provinces and courts; he abstained from promulgating the rules, which were never published until Major Broadfoot took charge of the provinces. The latter officer caused the rules to be printed and published, but never took any step towards either himself paying attention to the institution of trial by jury, or to causing his assistants to do so. The sections in question, therefore, though published, were never acted upon, and remained in abeyance not only during Major Broadfoot's, but during Captain Dwyer's administration. The latter officer, however, made the only effort towards the introduction of trial by jury which has been as yet made, for he early enjoined on his assistants, the more frequent use of assessors in civil suits

as an introductory step to the partial use of juries, which he was desirous, in conformity with the rules, of calling into operation on criminal trials.

The forms of the courts are as simple as the rules which guide them, and there is neither complexity nor in general much delay, and law is administered if any thing at too cheap a rate. There was at one time a good deal of confusion in consequence of the province and police courts, which both sit at Moulmein, not having their several jurisdictions clearly defined; civil suits could be entered in either indiscriminately, and litigation could thus be protracted by the same suit being entered, slightly modified, in one court after the other. One of the first measures of the late Commissioner, Captain Durand, was, clearly to define the jurisdictions of the province and police courts of Moulmein, then presided over by Captain Macleod and Captain Impey. Another measure not less needed was the separation made of the Commissioner's Court from the province court; Captain Durand found both together, and a consequent fusion of the authority of the two courts unfavorable to that distinctness which should exist between the appellate and a lower tribunal. He obtained the sanction of Government to the construction of a Commissioner's Court House; and, pending its completion, the Commissioner's was separated from Major Macleod's court by the sessions of the former taking place at his office. The measure gave satisfaction both to Europeans and Natives, and was on every account of principle and expediency advisable.

The courts at Moulmein have to deal with a very mixed population, consisting of Europeans, Chinese, Moguls, Bengalis, Burmans, Talains, Madrassis, Hindus, and Mussalmans, Karens, Shans and other tribes. Interpreters are few, and generally bad; the working of jury trials may be easily conceived where the elements would be so discordant, and the powers of intercommunication so limited. The European part of the community affords most trouble to the courts, and, until Captain Durand obtained commissions of justices of the peace for his assistants, the courts could with difficulty cope with some of the bad characters, particularly in the police, where the Magistrate of Moulmein has, in dealing with a population of such heterogeneous parts, very arduous duties to perform; the better characters amongst the Englishmen can necessarily afford him but little assistance, whilst the low Europeans either directly, or indirectly, by inflaming the natives, excite much trouble and disorder.

The jails in the Tenasserim provinces are much larger than is

requisite for the local provinces from having to accommodate the convicts transported from India to this coast. The main jail at Moulmein will accommodate about 1,500 convicts, whilst those at Tavoy and Mergui will hold together upwards of half that number. The convicts from India are chiefly Thugs, murderers, and heinous offenders; a portion however are transported for minor offences. The convict system which Major Broadfoot found in force appeared to him so lax that he altered it for a much more rigid one; he found convicts having wives, cattle, and property, and living a comfortable life out of jail; others were clerks in offices, private servants, and employed in a variety of ways; he ordered all into jail and took away from the convicts the license they had enjoyed. So sudden a change produced many daring attempts at escape, and many successful ones not unattended with crime; a spirit of desperation from the absence of any hope of alleviating their state arose amongst them, and gave much trouble and uneasiness; the more so, in consequence of the insecurity of the main jail and the utter inefficiency of the hired peons for jail guards. Captain Durand introduced a similar system to that in the Straits settlements, drawing the convict police from the convicts themselves; thus holding out an object and reward for good conduct amongst this unhappy class of men. He also separated the life, from the fourteen and seven years convicts, retaining all life-convicts at Moulmein, the seven years convicts at Tavoy, and the fourteen years men on Mergui; the worn-out life-convicts are sent to the jail at Amherst. A tolerably complete classification has been effected by thus simply taking advantage of the different jails in the provinces, and the man banished for stealing a piece of cloth is no longer made the companion for seven years of experienced Thugs and murderers. The new convict system works well, and the lines of road made by the convicts at Moulmein, Tavoy, and Mergui are valuable improvements; but had system been earlier introduced, the provinces might by this time have been traversed by good roads; now the three above mentioned towns are the only places where a passable road can be found.

In the Judicial Department much was done to introduce order and system into all its branches by the late Commissioner, Captain Durand, who devoted a great deal of attention to the practical working of the Courts, and spared no pains to introduce arrangement and care, as well as an exact performance of duty. Whether or not, on several occasions, he was too severe, or only did what every honest man in his position ought to have done, is a question the answer to which will



very much depend on the pains which any one may take to make himself master of the real and not the misrepresented facts, as well as on his own moral perception of right and wrong. When we commenced this article it was our intention, in order to its completeness, distinctly, though at the same time, rather cursorily, to allude to those judicial acts of Captain Durand's government which have gained for it so much notoriety. But already, with reference to the timber trade, we have found ourselves involuntarily dragged into a longer dissertation than we had either intended or wished—such dissertation having appeared absolutely necessary to a proper understanding of the essential merits of the subject. And so now, with reference to the other transactions alluded to, we find, on a closer inspection of our materials, no alternative between entering greatly more into detail than we had intended, and abandoning the discussion altogether. To adopt the latter branch of the alternative, after the extreme publicity which the whole subject has acquired at home and abroad, would not be compatible with our sense of assumed duty. And, as simple lovers of justice and fair play, we feel more reconciled to this necessitated resolution, inasmuch as the more minute and careful examination of the varied evidence which patient research has brought to our notice, has tended to disabuse our own minds of a great deal of antecedent misconception and doubt, arising from imperfect or insufficient information, and to place the whole conduct and character of the Commissioner in a very different light indeed, from that in which both have hitherto been ordinarily represented, primarily, by manifestly interested parties on the spot, and, secondarily, by others at a distance, who, however honest in their intentions, could scarcely help being misled by partial and distorted statements. Our great object has been to ascertain the *precise facts* of every case. And the conclusions at which, after a long and laborious investigation, we have been constrained to arrive, we shall endeavour to state, not controversially but didactically, with all calmness and dispassionateness; because, with us, *the interests of truth and justice must ever be held sacred and paramount to all other considerations.*

Captain Durand, having held, as already intimated, the confidential situation of private Secretary to the Governor-General of India, Lord Ellenborough, was, after the recall and departure of that nobleman for England, sent by Sir H. Hardinge to relieve Major Broadfoot in the Tenasserim provinces. The appointment, we have reason to know, was wholly unsought by him. And thoroughly acquainted as he

was with the feeling existing, not only in these provinces, but also amongst many high officials, with whom, according to general report, "no name was bad enough," for Major Broadfoot, who had exposed a long system of misrule which had grown up and thriven under their surveillance; intimately acquainted too with the state of the Punjab and with the impending necessity for the departure of the Governor-General for Upper India, and having some reason to fear that such departure would at once remove his chief hope of support from the Government of Bengal,—nothing, as we have been credibly informed, but confidence in the support which he felt himself entitled to expect in the honest discharge of his duty from the Governor-General, could have induced Captain Durand to hazard undertaking a charge under such unfavorable auspices.

Except Major Broadfoot, with whom he was personally acquainted, Captain Durand knew no officer in the Tenasserim provinces; and so far as his subordinates were concerned, he came to his charge far freer from bias than Major Broadfoot, who, with his old friendships and old enmities, originating when he was Commissariat Officer at Moulmein, could not be supposed to come with an entirely impartial mind. The larger sphere of action and the momentous questions with which Captain Durand had been engaged as private secretary to Lord Ellenborough, could not, we may reasonably presume, but give an air of comparative insignificance to the petty local matters of Moulmein;—a feeling which must have gone far to secure entire impartiality, if not indifference, as regarded persons and things. His sense of the comparatively minor importance of his new charge was well known at Moulmein, and plainly exemplified when his first assistant Major Macleod (having received and shewn to several officers at Moulmein a letter, the tenor of which was that the appointment of Captain Durand was held unfair to Major Macleod, by a person, who, whatever his own private opinion, ought, the appointment being once made, to have abstained from any expression of it to Captain Durand's subordinates) submitted a remonstrance on the subject of his "supercession," which he was about to forward to the Supreme Government. The late Commissioner, anxious to promote his views, advised him to alter a word which might lay him open to the reply, that the Government could not regard sending a person from the post of private Secretary to the Governor-General to that of Commissioner of the Tenasserim provinces as *supercession of an assistant in those provinces*.

So long as the Governor-General Sir H. Hardinge retained charge of the Government of Bengal, affairs went smoothly in

the Tenasserim provinces ; but, from the time that Sir T. H. Maddock was made Deputy-Governor, things took a very sudden and unexpected turn, which was generally observed and commented on at the time by the Residents at Moulmein. That there was any connection between these events, as cause and effect, it would be presumptuous on our part to say. We merely note the coincidence of them as to time, simply as a matter of fact, which gave occasion to many surmises and shrewd remarks. The first occasion on which this apparent change attracted general notice, was, when a reference was made to the Government of Bengal on the following matter:—

It was very well known—indeed a matter of universal notoriety—at Moulmein, that no mutual good-will existed between the first assistant, i. e., the Province Magistrate, Major Macleod, and Captain Impey, the Police Magistrate; the rancour originated in other causes than that on which it first broke out, which latter was a silly business, in consequence of which Captain Macleod had to apologize to Captain Impey. Shortly after his arrival, bickerings on trivial points came before Captain Durand, who held them as puerile and treated them as they deserved. At length, however, a favorite revenue writer, formerly for a long time, Captain Macleod's confidential servant, was called up before Captain Impey in the performance of his magisterial duties, and was reported to Captain Durand as having entered the main jail; held communications with, and made promises to a notorious dakoit imprisoned by Captain Impey; and as urging that he did so on authority from Major Macleod. The latter was referred to on the subject; not satisfied with the simple acknowledgement that such was the case, Major Macleod accompanied it by a gross attack upon the public character of Captain Impey as a Magistrate, and endeavoured at the same time to ruin him in the estimation of the Commissioner by a charge of the blackest kind upon his private character. Captain Durand dealt with the official charge as was his duty. The attempt to ruin Captain Impey's private character was met, by this officer being at once informed of the report which had been made, accompanied by the assurance on the Commissioner's part that the intimation was made to Captain Impey solely to warn him against the possibility of such seeming malevolence disturbing the peace of his family, but with no other object as it met with no shade of credence. The name of the tale-bearer was withheld from Captain Impey, who, however, had no difficulty in concluding as to the person, from the circumstance that Major Broadfoot had once had occasion to speak to him

exactly in the same manner as Captain Durand, and for the same purpose.

In the course of the official steps taken by the Commissioner to ascertain whether there were grounds to entertain the charges made by Major Macleod, it became apparent that the feeling of party and hostility had spread from the superiors to the subordinates, and that it was essential for the orderly conduct of business that one of these two Magistrates should be removed from the field of their squabbling, Moulmein. Finding Major Macleod's charges not to merit attention, Captain Durand referred to the Governor-General, Sir H. Hardinge, the propriety of removing one of the two officers; and as Captain Macleod was in every respect the most blameworthy, his removal to Tavoy was suggested, as in every way most convenient for the public service; Dr. Richardson being an officer who could ably replace Captain Macleod at Moulmein, whereas there was no officer fit to replace Captain Impey, if the latter were removed to Mergui;—a fact sufficiently borne out by subsequent experience. The opinion of the Commissioner and his recommendation to Government had been kept secret; Captain Macleod applying for a copy of this opinion was refused; upon which he addressed himself directly to the Government, and after himself having taken the depositions and evidence of various individuals, some of them of infamous character, against Captain Impey, of whom he was the accuser, forwarded a mass of papers direct to the Deputy-Governor declining to submit copies to the Commissioner.

Sir T. H. Maddock's decision, which soon was bruited about, we are unable to account for, and must simply presume that there were some reasons known to the Governor, of which the public could not be aware. But be that as it may, the only facts of which the public really became cognizant, were these:—The Governor found, that Major Macleod had clearly committed errors; had lost his temper; had permitted himself to impute malicious motives to Captain Impey; had even gone the length of demanding that an immediate investigation should be set on foot into the conduct of all his subordinates, and that Captain Impey should be called on to produce his charges and substantiate them (he having made none;) had committed a gross error in deliberately disobeying the orders of the Commissioner; and, the Deputy-Governor might have added, made ridiculous charges against Captain Impey, and then taken the law into his own hands;—yet, Sir T. H. Maddock settled the matter by finding fault with the Commissioner for giving his assistants verbal orders,

and punished Captain Impey by removing him to Mergui, because a junior officer to Major Macleod.

Captain Durand contented himself with intimating to the two officers the decision of the Deputy-Governor, and with expressing his satisfaction that the blame found with himself had partly exonerated them. At the same time he could not but see clearly, and with awakened apprehensions, the degree of support he might anticipate from Sir T. H. Maddock, as did every one else at Moulmein: for the remarks and observations of the Deputy-Governor respecting the Commissioner were said to be very unreserved, and became *the common topic of conversation at Moulmein*, as also the reception given by Sir T. H. Maddock to Major Macleod, who immediately after the decision proceeded on leave to Calcutta.

So circumstanced it was not surprising that when intelligence of the hostilities on the North West Frontier reached Captain Durand, and when, in consequence of the actions of Múdkí and Ferozshah, a call for European troops was made, he should take the opportunity of placing himself in such a position as would enable the Deputy-Governor of Bengal to relieve him without dishonor, and to place some one at Moulmein, whose authority he might be prepared to support. Captain Durand accompanied the wing of the 84th regiment to Calcutta, no doubt influenced by the soldier-like desire of being in the field, when so many officers of his corps, old and young, were suddenly summoned to the frontier; and of seeing the continuation and close of a contest, which to him must have been long foreseen;—influenced also, whether right or wrong, as the few in Calcutta and in England to whom he opened himself well knew, by his growing sense of insecurity under Sir T. H. Maddock, and his desire, on an honorable occasion, to afford the Deputy-Governor the opportunity, which appeared likely to be not unwelcome, of placing some one else in his charge. The course pursued, however, was, under some unintelligible mistake, as we may suppose, to reprimand Captain Durand severely for that which he did not do; that is, he was censured for volunteering, when in fact he had carefully abstained from any presumption of the kind,—only reporting that he thought it a duty to his Government when so excellent an opportunity presented itself as that of accompanying the troops in the fast steamer under his orders, to place himself in such a position that if his services as an officer were required, the Government might, without inconvenience or delay, order him to the frontier;—making no request to be sent, but simply studying the convenience of Government and leaving it to them to order him to

the frontier or back to Moulmein, as might be thought most useful to the service. Captain Durand, in proceeding to Calcutta, did nothing more than some of his civil predecessors, necessarily without corresponding motives, had been permitted to do unreprimanded; he returned to Moulmein with a severe censure, and, as the only fruit of his journey, arms for the local corps, then fifteen months without them.

After a while, Lord Ellenborough having become first Lord of the Admiralty, the Supreme Government of India ordered the Commissioner to make purchases of teak timber. Having formed his committee to carry this measure into effect, Captain Durand had to proceed on circuit to Tavoy and Mergui. Whilst at the latter place, and when on the bench, nearly the whole detachment of the local corps, in a body, came openly into the court, and marching up to the very bar, were about to address the Commissioner, who at once informed them that that was neither the place nor the manner for soldiers to make a complaint, and ordered them out of court, informing the men in what manner to make any complaint they might wish to bring to his notice, and that it would be heard. Shortly after, the native officer came into court, and stated that the detachment had refused to receive the month's pay due to them, and demanded an additional month's pay. Captain Place, the officer in charge of the province, was called, and on being questioned, stated, that he intended to have before reported what had taken place, but the men had forestalled him; that the detachment, when paraded to receive their month's pay, then fully due to them, and which had been sent from head-quarters for them, had refused to receive the pay, and had demanded an additional month's pay *not due to them*, and which had not been forwarded from head-quarters, or at least had not been received. Captain Durand, deeming it essential at once to check such a spirit of insubordination, ordered the ringleaders to be tried; Captain Place tried, convicted, and punished them; the remainder of the detachment then quietly received their pay.

The additional month's pay demanded was for the month *not expired* at the time the men made the request in so improper a manner. Since, however, only a few days were wanting to its termination, and since Captain Place had not received more than the month's pay he issued, Captain Durand made inquiries on his return to Moulmein relative to the transmission of pay to the detachments, with the view of preventing delay or mistakes in future. Several references had to be made between Lieut. Sharp, the adjutant of the local corps, and Captain Place, in the course of which the latter officer rebutted a charge of

error and neglect made upon him by his junior, and proved the latter, Lieut. Sharp, to be entirely at fault. In the course of these references, Lieut. Sharp lost his temper, and reflected upon the conduct of Captain Place in punishing the men, and took the opportunity,—being temporarily in charge of the local corps, in consequence of the departure of the commanding officer,—to advocate the cause of the ringleaders and to make applications for their pardon or another inquiry. The Commissioner issued both to Captain Place and to Lieut. Sharp orders on the subject, which they were informed were final, and directed all further communications respecting it to cease. Instead of attending to this order, the junior officer, Lieut. Sharp,—after a month's interval, during which time false accounts of the transaction were published in the Moulmein Press, and thence copied and reprinted in other Indian journals,—again renewed the subject, requesting, that, if Captain Durand did not accede to his (Lieut. Sharp's) proposals in favor of the mutineers, the matter should be referred to Sir T. H. Maddock. This latter alternative Captain Durand of course acquiesced in: but, as Lieut. Sharp had proved himself wholly unfit to command a corps, by the example of disobedience which he appeared to be setting, and by the encouragement which, consciously or unconsciously, he was affording to a young untrained corps to mutiny, and find support from their officers, the Commissioner suspended him, and recommended his being sent to his corps to learn subordination. At the earnest interposition of Lieut. Sharp's former commanding officer, and the equally earnest entreaty of Lieut. Sharp himself, who requested to be permitted to withdraw his objectionable letters, Captain Durand, *out of consideration to a young and misguided officer, pardoned him, and permitted him to return to his duty.*

In the mean time another subject of a disagreeable character had arisen. With the view of a considerable reduction of Commissariat charges\* in the keep of many hundreds of cattle, Captain Rowlandson had proposed a system of paying respectable farmers a certain sum per head for taking charge of them. The measure was, in itself, an excellent one, and as Captain Rowlandson applied to the civil authorities to render him assistance in carrying it out, he was referred to Major Macleod, the officer in charge of the province, who was instructed to

\* This gentleman, whose name has already appeared in connection with the Government transactions in timber, is an officer belonging to the Madras Presidency, where, as we have been credibly assured, previous to his appointment to the Commissariat Department at Moulmein, he established for himself the highest character for aptitude in official business, practical sagacity, sterling integrity of principle, and devoted faithfulness to the Government which he so zealously serves.

render every assistance in his power. The manner in which this injunction was obeyed, was, by his handing over the whole matter to the arrangement of the favorite and confidential native, before noticed, as the cause of the charges brought against Captain Impey by Major Macleod. This native, as might have been anticipated, made a job of the whole affair,—giving out the cattle not to respectable land-owners capable of carrying out their engagements, but to his own creatures. Captain Rowlandson was new to the place, and could not, therefore, at once detect that his cattle-farmers were men of straw; but the loss of public cattle, and the wretched state of the remainder soon forced him to withdraw the Commissariat cattle from the farmers, and to report the manner in which the affair had been mismanaged;—a manner so disgraceful that the Brigadier in command of the troops expressed himself very strongly. A hundred and twenty bullocks had been lost in the course of a short time, and the hundreds alive were in a wretched state,—so fallen away that the artillery had to be fed on such meat as could be purchased by the Commissariat Department in the bazar.

About this time a circumstance occurred, well calculated to excite, in many minds, some degree of surprize. While it was not known that the foregoing transaction had attracted any attention at head-quarters, it seems that two paragraphs of the *Moulmein Chronicle* were held of sufficient importance to induce their transmission to the Commissioner with a call for a report upon the statements they contained. One of these paragraphs related to the mutineers at Mergui; the other accused Captain Rowlandson of occupying ground not belonging to him, and of which the owners after a fire had been dispossessed by order of the Commissioner. Every one in Moulmein knew the utter unfoundedness, of the statements contained in both paragraphs: but the bare fact of a reference being made by Sir T. H. Maddock, upon such anonymous mis-statements, was virtually, though we are bound to believe, on his part, most unintentionally, a fulfilment of their object; and encouraged the parties concerned, in following out a course, which,—founded on the opinion, they openly but surely without sufficient warrant avowed, that the Governor-General was so much in dread of the press as not to dare to act in contradiction to its voice, and, as we may presume, the equally unwarrantable opinion, that they could securely, and at all hazards, rely on Sir T. H. Maddock's support,—was calculated to mislead the public as much as possible. This call for reports on anonymous paragraphs did not, however, reach



Moulmein, until subsequently to events which have to be mentioned.

Captain Rowlandson, in the Committee for the purchase of teak for the navy, was entrusted with the accounts and the making of purchases. Having in the course of this duty bought fifty-six logs, the agent, to whom they were given over for delivery to Captain Rowlandson, abstracted four, and only delivered fifty-two logs of timber; the man who did this was a Mr. Lenaine, who had lately been head-clerk in Major Macleod's office; and that circumstance, coupled with the fact of his subsequently continually hanging about that officer's court, as a pleader, naturally tended to establish the general impression that he had great influence in that court. Captain Rowlandson, finding that this individual had no intention of giving up the Government property abstracted, lodged a criminal charge against Mr. A. Lenaine before the officiating Police Magistrate, Lieut. Sharp. The case was called, partly heard, and deferred to a subsequent day. In the interval, Mr. Lenaine waited on Major Macleod, who, after seeing Mr. Lenaine, went the same day to Lieut. Sharp, and had a conversation with him on the subject of Captain Rowlandson. The object of Mr. Lenaine's visit appears to have been thoroughly well understood by the pleaders of the Courts, for one of these, a Mr. Gordon, wrote to Captain Rowlandson, "I hear Lenaine went to Major Macleod yesterday morning, begging he would save him. The Major went shortly afterwards to the Police office, and had a conversation with Lieut. Sharp. What the nature of it was I can only imagine, but I have reason to believe from this and information ——— little circumstances with which I am acquainted, that you will not obtain a decree against Lenaine." When the case was called for continuation before Lieut. Sharp, Captain Rowlandson found the proceedings so conducted as to corroborate the information he had thus, in a way so unsought for, received; and when the Court closed its proceedings for that day, he communicated with and obtained the sanction of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomson, the officer commanding the troops in the Tenasserim provinces, to wait on the Commissioner, and make an official report of the circumstances; this he accordingly did, and applied for the Commissioner's interference. Captain Durand pointing out the serious character of the step taken, requested Captain Rowlandson to think the matter over, and if, on reflection, he deemed it a public duty on principle to bring the matter forward, to address Captain Durand officially in writing on the subject. After deliberation, Captain Rowlandson, on a

subsequent day appealed by letter to the Commissioner, as the highest judicial authority in the provinces, to interfere in the case, alleging that he, Captain Rowlandson, was prevented from conducting the prosecution, since his witnesses were cross-questioned in such a way, as to get confused and completely mystified, and the ends of justice thus defeated.

The written application did not distinctly allege a corrupt cause, for the treatment of which Captain Rowlandson complained; the Commissioner, uncertain whether his evident reluctance to have the conduct of two Magistrates hastily implicated had deterred Captain Rowlandson on consideration from again assigning undue interference as the cause, acted on the powers vested in him by Section VIII.\* of the Rules for the administration of justice,—a power he had never before exerted, but of which the occasion seemed to demand the exercise. The Magistrates of the Police and Province Courts (the only two lower Courts at Moulmein) being the parties implicated, the case was removed for a hearing to the Commissioner's Court.

Two days after this, and before the case had been heard by the Commissioner, Captain Rowlandson addressed an official letter to Captain Durand, stating that he had been informed that the injurious treatment of which he had complained had resulted from the most improper interference of Major Macleod with the presiding Magistrate,—he, Major Macleod, having had the prisoner at his house immediately previous. On receiving this letter Captain Durand sent for Lieut. Sharp, and ascertained from him, that a conversation, calculated to affect his judgment in the case, being highly detracting to Captain Rowlandson, had taken place between Major Macleod and himself. Having thus ascertained that there were grounds for Captain Rowlandson's charge of an indubitable character, Captain Durand, anxious, if possible, to avoid the scandal of a *public* inquiry, directed both Major Macleod and Lieut. Sharp to state in writing, and without intercommunication with each other, what conversation regarding Captain Rowlandson and Mr. Lennaine, pending the criminal investigation, had taken place between them. Any semblance of collusion between these officers would necessarily frustrate the object of avoiding, if at all practicable, the great scandal of a *public* inquiry. Lieut. Sharp, however, chose deliberately to refuse, because "Captain Durand had no right to

\* Section VIII.—"The Commissioner may remove any case before or during trial from any Court to any other Court."

call for what passed privately," on public and judicial matters, between himself and Major Macleod; and, after communicating the substance of his conversation and letter to Major Macleod, he simply informed the Commissioner that he had done so. Major Macleod's reply was received after this intimation of Lieut. Sharp's conduct had reached the Commissioner some time, but it made no mention of the forbidden intercommunication which had taken place; and as Major Macleod's statement of the conversation held with Lieut. Sharp and of the mention made of Captain Rowlandson, differed essentially from Lieut. Sharp's acknowledgement on that particular, Captain Durand, finding his pacific wishes and intentions disregarded in a manner calculated to remove all confidence, and having to bear in mind what was due to Captain Rowlandson, ordered all three officers to appear before him.

The XXXIV. Section of the Rules for the administration of justice in the Tenasserim provinces runs thus—"The Commissioner will superintend and control all the Police officers of the provinces, superior and subordinate. He may appoint, suspend or dismiss, and delegate to his assistants the power of appointing, suspending, or dismissing all officers below the grade of assistant, and he may suspend any assistant;" but the Rules do not of course delegate such powers except on enquiry and investigation.

When the three officers appeared before Captain Durand, only two persons were called forward by Captain Rowlandson,—Lieut. Sharp offering to save the time of the Commissioner by making a statement. This he did, and Captain Rowlandson having heard it said, that the production of evidence was rendered unnecessary, and would only be a waste of time,—Lieut. Sharp's statement being sufficiently clear and explicit as to the nature of the conversation which had passed between Major Macleod and himself. Major Macleod then made his own statement; according to which, Mr. Lenaine was permitted to request his intercession and interference in the pending case. According to Lieut. Sharp's statement, Major Macleod, when he called at the police office, after having seen Mr. Lenaine, took the opportunity of introducing the subject of the difficulty he experienced in adjudging wood cases; conversed for a few minutes on the causes of this difficulty, and then proceeded to allude to Captain Rowlandson, observing that he had had Captain Rowlandson a great deal in court; that Captain Rowlandson was mad about wood; that, in a case between Mr. Bondville and Mr. C. Dias, Major Macleod had committed several of Captain Rowlandson's witnesses for forgery and

perjury. This led to Lieut. Sharp's mentioning the case of Captain Rowlandson and Mr. Lenaine, then pending before him. It appeared before Captain Durand, that Captain Rowlandson had not been a great deal in Major Macleod's court; that Major Macleod had not committed a single witness of Captain Rowlandson's for forgery or perjury; and that Captain Rowlandson, represented as mad about wood, was simply discharging, in a way the most conscientious, a public duty to Government very onerous, and, on his part, quite uncoveted. The natural result of such detractions was rendered apparent by Lieut. Sharp's introduction of his then pending case, in which Captain Rowlandson was concerned as a principal, on account of Government.

The questions for the Commissioner's decision were, 1. whether Major Macleod, a sworn Justice of the peace, was acting in conformity with his oath of office, when he permitted, unchecked, a person under a criminal prosecution to come to his private house, and hold most improper communications,—begging interference with the presiding officer of the court trying such person. 2. Whether, after having admitted such a communication, Major Macleod was acting in conformity with his oath of office, as a Justice of the peace, in proceeding that same day to hold a conference with the presiding officer, Lieut. Sharp, highly detracting to the prosecutor in the case in which interference was asked, and calculated to prejudice the mind of Lieut. Sharp against the prosecutor. 3. Whether these officers, both Justices of the peace, holding such conferences, and neither of them making any report or mention of what had passed, were acting as was their bounden duty. Most men, we should suppose, whose ideas of right and wrong are not perverted or entangled in a mesh of mere quibbling legal technicalities, will be disposed to concur in the opinion that Captain Durand, the highest judicial functionary in the Tenasserim provinces, and vested with special powers as Commissioner to check anything affecting the purity of the administration of justice, would have been as culpable as the parties themselves, had he, on their own admissions, arrived at any other conclusion than that which he adopted, namely, that such proceedings evinced a want of the requisite official probity.

Captain Durand so reported to the Deputy-Governor of Bengal,—at the same time suspending both officers, and noting strongly the conduct of Lieut. Sharp, whose sad, if not habitual disobedience, nothing affected by the leniency and consideration but a month before shewn him, had thus brought on a public investigation. The Commissioner also suggested, that, if

further proceedings and inquiry were deemed advisable, their conduct should be entrusted to some one else than himself,—his own opinion on this preliminary inquiry having been formed and expressed.

Shortly after this investigation it came to the Commissioner's notice, that Mr. Hough, the Government School Master, was, in direct contravention, as appeared to him, of a positive order of Government, and of his own pledged word, in close connection with the *Moulmein Chronicle* Press. When Major Broadfoot was Commissioner, he received instructions, dated the 19th June, 1843, that His Honor the Deputy-Governor deemed it quite inexpedient that Mr. Hough, or any other public servant, should be connected with a Local newspaper; and requested that his sentiments should be made known to Mr. Hough, and that the latter was expected to disconnect himself immediately from the press alluded to, or, to relinquish his situation under Government. The option was given to Mr. Hough, who determined to retain the Government school, and *promised to break off all connection with the press*. The manner in which the promise was kept would seem to indicate, that he was acting, for the time, under some strange mistaken idea or mental obliviousness; for, although Mr. Hough, when first questioned by Captain Durand, asserted that he *had obeyed the order of Government*, yet, *subsequently*, when it was known that Captain Durand's information was clear as to the real state of affairs, Mr. Hough *acknowledged to having written for the Newspaper in question, corrected its proofs, and penned editorials*. Notwithstanding such acknowledgments, Mr. Hough was led to assert that he had "never in a single instance been consulted by the Editor as to its contents." The upshot of this case, was, that the Commissioner, though with the utmost reluctance, and solely under a painful sense of public duty, felt himself called on *temporarily* to remove Mr. Hough from his situation. How far the views of the Commissioner, as to "deliberate disobedience of a Government order, breach of promise, and conduct wanting in veracity," on the part of Mr. Hough—which views alone seemed to necessitate this suspension,—may be substantiated or proved to be erroneous, must of course depend, not on plausible theories, but on the properly interpreted contents of that documentary evidence on which the judgment was founded. No one, we presume, would be more happy than the Commissioner himself to find, that the whole indicated a simple error of judgment on his part, rather than a series of moral offences on the part of Mr. Hough.

Mr. Hough's case was sent to the Government about the same time that that of Major Macleod and Lieut. Sharp was forwarded. Mr. Hough applied for permission to proceed to Calcutta, which was granted; and he accompanied the papers notifying the steps taken respecting him. Of the nature of his object in proceeding to Calcutta there could be no doubt. Neither can any one reasonably blame him for attempting to do whatever lay in his power, to further his own cause, if he felt himself really aggrieved. The appearance of certain articles in one portion of the local press, co-incident with his presence in Calcutta and its vicinity, or closely consequent on his departure, originated various, no doubt, idle surmises respecting the supposed sinister activity of his exertions and the alleged one-sided influence of his representations. But with these, and all the varied and all but incredible gossip relative to the rumoured effect of the sayings and doings of himself, and certain members of his family, in swelling the cry that had begun to be raised against Captain Durand and his proceedings—we wish to have nothing to do. The only material point, which it is of some importance to note, is, the undoubted fact, that, after a two months' absence, Mr. Hough returned to Moulmein. In his own case, which, most of the residents at Moulmein thought rather a plain one, no orders had been passed; but he brought back and spread the intelligence that the Deputy-Governor had decided on removing, so soon as a plausible pretext could be found, the Commissioner, Captain Durand,—and that it was determined to send Mr. J. Colvin, or Mr. Grant to relieve him. On whose authority such information should have been so prematurely and irregularly propagated, or whether on any adequate authority at all; or whether the whole may not have been the result of a mere rational surmise or well hit inference, arising partly from his own natural wishes and partly from a fortuitous glimpse of some of the stray shadows which coming events cast before;—whether originating in any of these ways, or in any other unknown to us—we cannot say. But of the fact of such information having been propagated there can be no doubt. Neither can there be any doubt, that, in consequence of the associations which, right or wrong, it was generally believed Mr. Hough had been enabled to form in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, the information, thus studiously propagated at Moulmein, came to be regarded by the residents in the light of a true prophecy.

In reply to the reference respecting Major Macleod and Lieut. Sharp, we deem it best simply to state, without note

or comment, that the Deputy-Governor cancelled their suspension,—pronounced that not the smallest impeachment rested upon their characters—and held the investigation to have been an act of official indiscretion on the part of the Commissioner calculated to embarrass the Government!

It has been before observed that two anonymous paragraphs, extracted from the *Moulmein Chronicle* were sent to Captain Durand, in order that he should report upon their allegations. They were received after Mr. Hough's matter was settled in the local court by his removal from his charge, and were, as we understand, accompanied by a letter which shewed that it had not escaped the observation of the Deputy-Governor, that the Editor of the newspaper, by ceasing to conform to the act of the Supreme Government relative to Newspapers, Printing-presses, &c. at the time these paragraphs appeared, had laid himself open to punishment. In this letter the Commissioner was instructed to enforce attention to the act in future. The act had, however, always been in force in the provinces since its first promulgation, and the injunction could not, without an injurious implication, on the part of Captain Durand, of the intention of the Deputy-Governor to screen the offender, be taken otherwise than as calling the attention of the authorities to the due enforcement of its provisions; not as abrogating the act up to the date of the receipt of the injunction, a power not vested in, the Deputy-Governor of Bengal, and which the Commissioner naturally, therefore, was not at liberty to suppose that he wished to exercise.

The paragraph respecting the mutineers at Mergui was met by despatching all the papers connected with the subject,—ending with Lieut. Sharp's temporary suspension for disobedience of orders, and his ultimate restoration. The other paragraph respecting appropriation of ground was sent to the officer in command of the troops, because the person accused of taking in ground was Captain Rowlandson, an officer under his orders. The replies of Col. Thomson and the inquiries he made were sent to the Deputy-Governor, and shewed clearly the entire falsehood of the allegations. In reply to the latter communication, no orders were passed by Sir T. H. Maddock; but the case of the mutineers came, some how or other, to be mixed up with the investigation relative to the conduct of Major Macleod and Lieut. Sharp with which it had no connection whatever; and thus, by untowardly and inexplicably blending things distinct and separate, and so unhappily confusing all as much as if confusion had been the purposed object, the conduct of Captain Durand was censured in ordering Captain Place to

try the mutineers, and for his leniency to Lieut. Sharp, whose subsequent suspension was stated to be only re-enforced and submitted to Government in consequence of Captain Rowlandson's charges against Major Macleod and Lieut. Sharp; whereas, as before noted, the papers were necessarily sent up when the report on the anonymous paragraphs was called for.

The tone of this communication to the Commissioner was felt by him to be so unnecessarily offensive, and both subjects were dealt with in a manner so thoroughly unaccountable, and, with what appeared to him, such an evident pre-resolve to attach blame to what he conceived to be the faithful execution of his duty and to deny him all support, that it is not at all surprising, that, with these strong convictions in his own mind, he should at once have appealed against the decision to the Governor-General of India. The Deputy-Governor, however, it appears, refused to forward his appeal, and referred Captain Durand to the Court of Directors. As the Governor-General of India, when he separated himself from his Council, was vested by act of the Supreme Government with all the powers of the Governor-General in Council, except those of legislation, this denial of an appeal was regarded by the Commissioner as unconstitutional. But be that as it may, from the course pursued by Sir T. H. Maddock in this particular, some months passed before Captain Durand, apprised that his appeal to the Governor-General of India was refused, could take steps to appeal to the Court of Directors; and the delay obtained afforded time for the erroneous impressions so sedulously spread by interested parties to take root before they were met by a clear statement of particulars, and a correction not only of the gross calumnies prevalent, but also of the mistaken decisions of authority.

The call for reports, on the two anonymous paragraphs made by Sir T. H. Maddock, produced results scarcely to have been anticipated, and which brought more trouble on the Commissioner,—placing him in that position as judge, that he must either shrink from what he honestly regarded as the plain but painful duties of his office, or make up his mind to encounter the fresh shafts of calumny, and possibly to further conflict with superior authority.

Captain Rowlandson, naturally hurt that an inquiry as to his conduct, with reference to the appropriated ground, should be made in consequence of the notice taken by Sir T. H. Maddock of scurrilous, anonymous assertions in a low and disreputable newspaper, deemed it incumbent on himself not to remain



quiet under abusive and libellous imputations which attracted the notice of a Deputy-Governor of Bengal—imputations, however, which without that notice, he would have continued to treat with the contempt they deserved. And, finding that the editor had avoided amenability to law on one point by discontinuing, when inserting such vituperative articles, attention to the provisions of Act XI. of 1835 of the Supreme Government, he determined, under the best legal advice at his command, to enter a criminal charge against the editor on the points on which he conceived him amenable to law, namely, for specific breaches of the act in question. With this view he lodged a petition before the Commissioner, which, on being received, Captain Durand directed Captain Rowlandson, if he had any complaint to make, to prefer to the officer officiating as Police Magistrate during the suspension of Major Macleod and Lieut. Sharp,—Captain Kenny. This officer admitted the case as a criminal prosecution for breaches of the act, and entered upon its hearing; but, after consideration, he sent the case up to the Commissioner's Court, deeming the Police Court and Magistrate, with reference to the amount of penalty and punishment awardable by the act, incompetent to adjudicate in the case. Being thus transferred to the Commissioner's Court by Captain Kenny, it became imperatively incumbent on the Commissioner, in compliance with Sec. V.\* of the rules for the administration of justice, to hear the case and to pass a decision. The breaches of the act were clearly and distinctly proved, and the Commissioner sentenced the editor to such penalty and imprisonment as the case appeared to merit, but considerably under, in amount of penalty, what by the act he was empowered to inflict. The editor requested and was granted an appeal to the Sudder Court—and as he could not pay the fine awarded, the press, types, &c. were attached by order of the court, but not sold, in consequence of Mrs. Hough, in the absence of Mr. Hough, then in Calcutta, claiming them as the property of her husband.

In addition to applying for appeal, the editor addressed a petition direct to Sir T. H. Maddock, said to be grossly erroneous in sundry of its statements, and requesting his in-

\* Section V.—“Provided that every Goung Gyouk or Tseckay, who, before or after the completion of a trial, may think the sentence fit to be passed heavier than that which he is empowered to pass, shall transmit the proceedings to the assistant, to whom he is subordinate, and shall also cause the parties and their witnesses to appear before the assistant, and the assistant, who shall be of like opinion, before, or after trial of any case, shall in like manner commit it to the Commissioner for trial, and shall cause the parties and their witnesses to appear before him at such time and place as he may appoint.”

terference. On receipt of this petition, the Deputy-Governor at once, and apparently in entire ignorance of the merits of the case then in appeal before the Sudder Court, directed the suspension of the award of the Commissioner's Court, and the release of the prisoner;—an order, which, however unusual or seemingly irregular, was immediately obeyed.

Captain Durand had convicted Mr. A. Lenaine, on trial of the charges preferred against him for feloniously abstracting Government timber, and had sentenced him to a lenient punishment. Mr. Lenaine applied for and obtained an appeal to the Sudder Court, but also petitioned direct to Sir T. H. Maddock.—The latter, being informed that the cases for which he called were in appeal before the Sudder Court, applied to that court, who replied that they had ruled that the court could not receive them in appeal,—this being the opinion of the majority of the court. Sir T. H. Maddock then requested that the court should report on the cases without trying the appeals. This the Sudder Court complied with, and, in so doing, is believed to have fallen into sundry grave errors, partly, we may presume, in consequence of their ignorance of the fact that trial by jury had not, as prescribed by the promulgated rules laid before them, been established; and of their little acquaintance with the customs of the trade and place. That, as some have alleged, the judges should have been unconsciously influenced in their decision, by the mass of mis-statements and calumnies abroad at the time, may, or may not, be true; though, if it were, it would in no wise reflect on their official integrity, seeing that judges are but men, who, like others, must ever be exposed to such insidious influences.

In Mr. Lenaine's case the majority of the judges pronounced, that he ought to have been acquitted, though some of the ablest lawyers, as we are credibly informed, have expressed their concurrence in the strong opinion of the minority, which entirely bore out the decree of the Commissioner. In that of the Editor, the judges, as we understand, took very different views of the act and its provisions; of the competency of Captain Rowlandson to prosecute; and of the breaches of the Act established. Some thought a nominal fine should have been inflicted, and the prosecutor referred by the Court to an action for libel; some objected to the fines for contempt of Court; others approved and upheld them; some objected to the call of the Court for, and ~~the~~ weight given by the Court to the character of the Editor, as an element to guide discretion in the award of penalty and imprisonment, which by the Act might be any thing up to 5,000 rupees and two years of imprisonment. They how-

ever held, on one ground or another, that the prosecution was illegal,\* and that the sentence ought to be remitted. They thus upheld the judgment of Sir T. H. Maddock, who had indeed already cast the weight of the Government, without stay or hesitation, against the proceedings of the Commissioner's Court. The case lay in no very recondite subtilties; the Editor, whilst convenient to himself, had discontinued to print his name on the paper, and had otherwise not conformed to the provisions of the Act; the breaches were as clear, as the Act itself is, to all ordinary readers, whose moral sense may well recoil from such fatal facility of escape from the consequences of scurrility and calumny.

Mr. Hough, as already stated, had long before ventured to make known by anticipation, the arrangement said to be in contemplation for the removal of Captain Durand; and as it had been also long shrewdly surmised, that the only person in the Tenasserim provinces, who was not to expect support, was the officer placed in charge of them by the Governor-General of India, a systematic cabal had been formed, the meetings of which and their fruits, in monthly communications direct to Bengal, were the common topic of conversation at Moulmein. Their object, as was well known, was to embarrass the administration of Captain Durand as much as possible, and to create all the trouble and disturbance which ingenuity could devise, without actually exposing the members to the proceedings of a public officer, who made all men see that nothing daunted him in the execution of duty; and that, though wholly unsupported by superior authority, yet so long as he remained in his position, he would fearlessly do what he thought principle demanded. There is also a limit beyond which if cabal steps, whatever the countenance secretly assured of, it cannot be longer permitted to exist; every occasion, however, on which clamour could be raised, or a reference made, was seized, and people directly and indirectly encouraged to adopt all such steps as could in any manner tend to cast disrepute upon Captain Durand, hamper his measures, occupy his time, and distract his attention from more important matters. One single act of vigorous support to authority would have put a stop to such proceedings; but there seemed to be something like an understanding between this Moulmein cabal, and persons who ought to have been ashamed to countenance such underhand transactions. The shamelessness with which matters were carried on was the astonishment of all honest men

\* Since this was originally written, it has transpired, that one of the most eminent London Counsel has given a deliberate opinion in favour of the legality of this trial throughout, and has commented, in no measured terms, on the verdict of the majority of the Sudder Dewany.

at Moulmein; but honest men are silent, and the union and activity of the dishonest, with the absence of all scruple, and the aid of a libellous Moulmein press, effectually prevented the truth from becoming known.

The Brigadier commanding the troops was one day, during the rainy season, surprised to find the guard of regular infantry removed from the inside to the outside of the main jail, and placed in a shed in no way calculated for the accommodation of the guard at such a season. As the main jail contained about a thousand convicts and prisoners, and being, by the regulations of the Madras army, responsible for the posting of this guard, he naturally inquired by whose orders the guard had been removed. The Commissioner referred to Lieut Wilson, the officer in subordinate charge of the jail, to ascertain. Lieut. Wilson, after some delay, replied that it was by his orders, and sent in, as his reason for having acted without instructions from superior authority, a statement containing a series of charges against the conduct of the guard, a detachment of the 52nd M. N. I., whilst within the jail. These communications were forwarded to the Brigadier, Lieut. Colonel Thomson. The allegations were various, and were held to affect the character of the 52nd M. N. I. deeply. Major Baillie, the officer in command of the corps, held a regimental inquiry, and the result of the proceedings of the military authorities, was, that the Brigadier requested that Lieut. Wilson might be called upon to prove his allegations or to apologize for having made them. He chose to be permitted to prove and substantiate before a Court of Inquiry what he had advanced against the conduct of the guard,—stipulating however that no officer of the 52d M. N. I. should be a member of the Court. To this strange request from an officer belonging to the 52d M. N. I. the Brigadier acceded, and assembled the Court of Inquiry composed without a member from the regiment in question, the only one in the provinces. When Lieut. Wilson came before the Court, he objected to one of the members on a ground over-ruled by the Brigadier, who directed the Court to proceed with its inquiry. Lieut. Wilson again refused—urging that he had reasons to communicate, which he wished permission to state, but not to the Court. It was evident that Lieut. Wilson was trifling with the Court, and acting in a very contumacious manner, because, being attached to the local corps, which he considered a civil appointment, he could beard the regular military authorities with impunity. The Brigadier complaining of this conduct, Captain Durand placed Lieut. Wilson temporarily under his orders; Lieut. Wilson was then directed by the Brigadier to proceed with the business before the Court of Inquiry, stating any

reasons he might have for objecting to proceed to the Court itself. Lieut. Wilson refused, and the Brigadier then instructed the Court to record its opinion, which it did. Both the Brigadier and the officer in command of the 52d M. N. I. then sent in a series of charges against Lieut. Wilson to the Commander-in-chief of the Madras army, and application was made to the Commissioner, that Lieut. Wilson should be placed under arrest. Captain Durand could not but comply with the request, and suspending Lieut. Wilson from his functions in the Commission, placed him, at the requisition of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomson, under arrest. Sir T. H. Maddock, on receiving a report of the circumstance, replied, by sending the copy of a communication which Lieut. Wilson had forwarded direct to the Deputy-Governor, without transmitting it through his superiors, on the alledged grounds that the Commissioner had refused to forward it; the real fact being that the Commissioner had never seen the paper, and had never had the option, much less the power of refusing to forward it. On this paper thus forwarded, Sir T. H. Maddock directed that Lieut. Wilson should be released from arrest, and that if Captain Durand were satisfied with the reasons which Lieut. Wilson had refused to assign before the Court of Inquiry, assembled at his own request, Lieut. Wilson was to be released from suspension. Captain Durand obeyed the order as to release from arrest, but declined, on his own responsibility, to release from suspension an officer whose conduct had been alike subversive of all Civil and Military authority.

The removal of Captain Durand seems to have been understood as an event determined on so long prior to its execution, that a gentleman, holding one of the highest offices of state, when he went to the Cape for his health, nearly a year before, was heard to mention the circumstance of the intention to remove Captain Durand, and to relieve him by Mr. J. Colvin. When the latter gentleman long afterwards returned from Ceylon, this measure was carried into effect.

To most people it will occur that there is no very clear connection between the efficiency and good order of an administration, or the welfare of the Tenasserim provinces, and the removal of a judge for punishing leniently a man guilty in the opinion of the minority of the judges of the Sudder Court of the charge legally by the prosecutor brought against him, namely, the fraudulent taking of Government timber. Neither will most readers perceive how the welfare of the provinces or the efficiency of the administration could be very seriously affected by the Editor of a low and scurrilous newspaper, being punished by a judge for the proved wilful breach of a Penal Act of the

Supreme Government, which it was the bounden duty of that judge fearlessly to enforce; for our readers will probably be of the opinion that "Judges ought to remember that their office is *jus dicere* and not *jus dare*, to interpret law and not to make or give law," least of all to abrogate existing laws; and that the Judge,—who feared the vituperations of the slanderer, and shrunk from enforcing a Penal Act, because a man, who in defence chose to urge the sheltering interference of a high authority, is the culprit,—should be driven with dishonor from the judgment seat. Few of our readers too will perceive the connection between the welfare of the provinces or the good order of their administration, and the cancelling of the suspension of officers conducting themselves as Major Macleod, Lieut. Sharp, and Lieut. Wilson did. And so with other cases. In the simplicity of unofficial understandings, most readers would have expected that want of energy and decision in moments of political difficulty, in checking mutiny, in curbing factious opposition to authority, would have been legitimate reasons for removing the administrator of provinces; that negligence of the interests of the people and their welfare, or the permitting them to be weighed down by grinding exactions would also have been sufficient grounds for such a step; that a failure of revenue, owing to mis-management traceable to the administrator, might have been a reason for such a measure; nay, that any gross act of oppression brought home to Captain Durand would have subjected him with propriety to such an exercise of Superior power;—but few would have expected that the suspension of Justices of the Peace, forgetful of their oaths of office; the suspension of an officer who set at nought both civil and military authority; the punishment of fraud and the enforcement of a law of the Supreme Government, and such like, would be esteemed to warrant so grave a step as the removal of an officer entrusted and sworn to administer justice without fear or favor! The only creditable solution of the matter, is, that the Governor, already overburdened with the manifold cares of state, had been temporarily misled by statements, the erroneousness of which he did not suspect, or had not leisure by inquiry to expose.

Captain Durand carried into effect measures from which others in his place had shrunk; he excited the animosity of certain members of the mercantile community by an uncompromising hostility to all jobbing. And once made to pay as much per ton for the tonnage engaged to take wrecked troops from the Andamans to Calcutta, as if the troops had been going to England, he never again, when, by using Government vessels, he could avoid it, employed hired tonnage. He reduced the force, and

therefore the quantity of money and stores thrown into Moulmein. He grappled honestly with the forest question and alarmed influential houses of agency. He carried out a stern, though for the safety of the cantonments and of the Ordnance and Commissariat Stores of the force, a necessary measure, when he forbad, after a calamitous fire, the re-occupation of the ground around the barracks, magazines, and stores of the troops, which had all repeatedly been in imminent peril from such conflagrations, and were only on that occasion saved by the exertions of the European Regiment. These were all very unpopular acts, and it might have been supposed that when he gave the community of Moulmein a month's warning that he was to be removed, that complaints would have thickened against the man so evidently denied the confidence and support of superior authority; yet, the very men,—who were the greatest sufferers from the last mentioned really stern though necessary political measure, and not small sufferers from some of the others—the Mogul merchants and the native community,—came forward with an address which is best given in their own words,—their English, though not very pure or grammatical, being not inexpressive of their feelings:—

TO CAPTAIN H. M. DURAN,

*Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces.*

SIR,—The native residents of this town of all classes, having learnt with sincere grief that you are on the eve of leaving these provinces, in the administration of the affairs of which you have afforded them the greatest satisfaction, cannot suffer you to leave them without, along with their unfeigned regret, expressing their unqualified approbation of the manner in which you have acquitted yourself under very trying circumstances which must have rendered the discharge of your public duty extremely arduous. We have invariably found you ready to afford protection to the poor; to distribute justice in the most impartial manner; and to hear and investigate cases brought before you with a patience we have rarely met with any where. We have always approached you without fear under the conviction that you are ever ready to afford redress; we have been listened to with attention; and have departed with satisfaction at the impartiality of your decisions. The firmness you have exhibited in carrying out your measures had led us to hope that had it pleased the Government of Bengal to prolong your administration of these provinces, most if not all of the defects still existing, as naturally they must wherever the Acts and Regulations of Government have not been enforced, would have been gradually rectified; regularity would have been established, and the rights of the people defined and secured, and adjudicated with certainty, which has not been the case since the formation of these settlements, nor could have been expected under the crude system in vogue. We have marked with satisfaction the straightforward manner in which, though surrounded with peculiar difficulties you have conducted the important affairs entrusted to your hands; and we beg respectfully to assure you that the native population have duly appreciated your solicitude for their wel-

sure, doubly enhanced by the mildness and affability you have invariably shewn them, creating that confidence, which should be felt by those who have occasion to approach the dispensers of justice. We have appeared before you with a firm persuasion that the object of our complaints, the case under trial, or the matter represented would be listened to and investigated with calmness, and decided and disposed of without partiality or favor. We leave it to you then, Sir, to judge of the extent of the satisfaction we have experienced under your administration, and the nature of the sorrow with which we contemplate your approaching departure. We can scarcely venture to indulge the hope that the voice of the native community of this town would have sufficient weight with the Supreme Government to restore you to them again, although you have accomplished what in other places subject to the East India Company, has rarely occurred, namely, giving general satisfaction to the bulk of the *native population*. What remains for us to do, we do it most cordially; we beg respectfully to tender you our grateful thanks for all that you have been to, and done for us, to assure you that our sincere best wishes will always attend you wherever you may go, and in whatever situation it may please the Supreme Government to place you; and that our prayers will always be offered up for your welfare and happiness.

We have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient Servants,

Moulmein, Dec. 1846

750 OR 800 SIGNATURES.

The above was followed by an address from some of the most respectable of the European merchants of Moulmein:—

TO CAPTAIN H. M. DURAND,

*Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces.*

SIR,—I have the honor in the name of the parties who have signed the enclosed address, to transmit the same to you, and which, taken in connection with a separate address to the same effect presented by the native inhabitants, I have much pleasure in stating to express the sentiments of a large portion of this community.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN PATTERSON.

TO CAPTAIN H. M. DURAND,

*Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces.*

SIR,—We the undersigned merchants, and other inhabitants of this place, have heard with regret of your intended removal from your present appointment, and take this opportunity of expressing our entire confidence in your ability for the proper performance of your present or any similar appointment.

We are well aware of the difficulties attending the proper fulfilment of the duties of Commissioner of these provinces, and although some of your public measures may have been disapproved of, yet we are confident every such measure was meant for the benefit of the provinces under your jurisdiction, the prosperity of which we are convinced you have at heart, and we regret that time and opportunity have not been afforded for carrying your contemplated measures for the advancement of the provinces into effect.



We also desire to express our satisfaction at the impartial and able manner in which justice has been administered in the Court over which you preside, and your unremitting and zealous attention to the numerous and intricate cases continually brought before you where all parties felt confident that none other than a conscientious and unbiassed decision would be given.

In conclusion we beg to express our conviction that your duties as Commissioner of the provinces have been administered in an able, honorable, and upright manner, and with sincere wishes for your prosperity in whatever appointment you may now be called to,

We have the honor to be Sir,

Your most obedient Servants,

JOHN PATERSON  
HENRY S. ANSTEN  
RIDINGD. WISE.  
JNO. CUMMINS.  
THOMAS FEWSON.  
J. LYSTER.  
C. F. CECIL.  
JAMES C. TODD.

M. COTTON.  
L. A. AVIETICK.  
H. HARGELWOOD.  
JOSEPH W. FASE.  
G. E. LIMOUSIN.  
RICHARD SNADDEN.  
JAMES INNES.

The removal of Captain Durand has been termed a great moral lesson to the service. It is so ; for it teaches public officers that they must be prepared, in the honest performance of duty, to incur calumny and gross abuse,—that success may be withheld from them, and much trouble and disorder unhappily arise from the absence, at the right juncture, of that proper support to which every man entrusted with an important charge is entitled, and which heretofore has seldom been refused, except where either a mean pusillanimity or still meaner motives have been in operation :—and that, however hard it may be to endure base calumnies, they must hold on, in the fearless performance of duty, submitting the issue, so far as their own interests and names are at stake, to the will of God. The lesson is more than a moral lesson to the service ; for it proves that a local press, like that of Moulmein, is not to be held as a true mirror for the representation even of local facts, or the accurate chronicling of local events, but rather the organ of the individual feelings or incensed passions of individuals, who have been baulked and thwarted in their selfish or dishonorable designs, by the vigilance and faithfulness of local authority. It also proves, how, even the most respectable press elsewhere, though not swayed by local prejudices, may yet be temporarily misled by artful, one-sided, or defective representations, which, from its distance from the scene of action, it has not the means of promptly correcting. Captain Durand, when he received the following address, signed by such holy and eminent men as Judson, Binney, &c. must have felt no ordinary

gratification; and the unmerited abuse of the Moulmein Press, if he ever cared for it, must have sunk to its proper value :—

TO CAPTAIN H. M. DURAND,

*Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces.*

DEAR SIR,—Allow us, members of the American Baptist Mission, on the eve of your departure, frankly to express to you our grateful sense of the numerous favors you have conferred on the various departments of the Mission during your residence in these provinces.

The effective but unostentatious methods you have constantly chosen to promote the cause of education and religion among the people assure us of your sincere desire for their highest interests.

We will not attempt to enumerate the various methods by which a salutary influence has been felt at all our stations, and widely diffused throughout the several departments of our labours, nor the particular instances in which special and timely assistance has been promptly afforded.

We beg to assure you that we have not failed duly to appreciate the very liberal pecuniary assistance you have given to the work in which we are engaged; nor have we been less sensible to the aid you have rendered us by a department alike adapted to administer the most severe rebuke to vice, and afford the strongest supports to virtue and religion.

It is our sincere desire, and an object for which our prayers shall not be wanting that our Heavenly Father may still direct you in a way in which your labours may be highly useful to mankind, as well as a source of increasing delight to yourself, and that you may finally receive the ultimate reward of those who continue faithful until death.

With these sentiments, we remain,

Your's very sincerely,

J. M. HUSWELL.

THOS. J. RAMSAY

J. G. BINNEY

E. A. STEVENS

H. HOWARD

L. STILSON

A. JUDSON

*Moulmein, 21st December, 1846*

That the abuse of the local press had had no effect in exacerbating his feelings was shown by the circular order issued to the officials in the Tenasserim provinces, shortly before Captain Durand's departure. Thus, his last public act was called forth by the silly references made to him on several occasions concerning anonymous paragraphs in the local newspapers. As this circular order is of far more general application than to the officers of the Commission in the Tenasserim provinces, and is no bad lesson to the services, Civil and Military, we shall not refrain from calling the attention of such of our readers as belong to the East India Company's Service to the advice it contains :—

“ CIRCULAR.

Several of the officers attached to the Commission having lately made lengthy references upon the subject of remarks ungrateful to them, in the local newspapers, it becomes necessary to inform all officers, superior and subordinate, in the employment of Government in these provinces, that the

time of the Commissioner cannot be given to such references. His opinion of their conduct depends upon the manner in which he finds the duties entrusted to them performed, and not upon the opinions expressed by the local newspapers.

The Commissioner recommends to those officers of the Commission from whom he has received the references which originate this circular, and indeed to all in the employment of Government in these provinces, to make such use of the remarks of the press as is most conducive to the good of the public service. This will be best accomplished, not by long references to their superior, upon remarks deemed ungracious or erroneous, but, by noting all really useful suggestions which the press may afford, and by confidently trusting to integrity of purpose, and vigilance in the discharge of duty, as the instruments by which they cannot fail of securing to themselves, not only the approbation of their local superior, but also of the Government they serve.

H. M. DURAND, *C. T. P.*

*Moulmein, 28th November, 1846*

Much as we have written about Captain Durand and his proceedings, we have yet omitted much;—such as the establishment of regular steam communication with the provinces, to which he pressed Colonel Irvine and the Government—his shewing up and obtaining the introduction of order and strict regulation into the system of Coolie emigration to the Tenasserim shores, assuming, as that system was rapidly beginning to do, the worst and most odious features—and a variety of law reforms and other general measures of improvement which could not, without too much lengthening, be properly introduced. Neither on the subject of the troubles of his Government, have we advanced a tithe of what we might have done. It was not his fault but his real misfortune, that, when he reached Moulmein, its affairs should have been in so unsettled and chaotic a state—that the elements of strife and discord, erewhile so rife, had not been extinguished, but survived in a smouldering condition, ready to ignite by the first spark, into violent combustion. His bearing, in the midst of trials encountered in the upright discharge of painful duties, was truly magnanimous. In this respect, we feel that we have not done him any justice, or any thing like half justice. Were we fully to avail ourselves of the mass of papers in our possession,—in the miscellaneous forms of notes, memoranda, testimonies, and letters by sundry individuals of the highest character and intelligence,—we might ensure for Captain Durand not a tame vindication merely but a glorious triumph. But our present object has not been to gain for him a triumph at the expence of his enemies, or of those who, unconsciously led astray by artful misrepresentations, have been led to censure his conduct. No; our simple object has been,—on the score of naked justice, and on the principle of “doing unto others as we would be done by,”—to pave the way for rescuing his good name from undeserved obloquy and re-

proach. And if we have not done vastly more than this, with such ample materials at our disposal, it has been solely out of respect to the feelings of other parties, some of whom we personally know and sincerely esteem—parties, therefore, respecting whom we have a moral assurance, that, as they have merely been the victims of partial and erroneous information, they will be ready to receive the corrections of truth and soberness, and rejoice, in due season, to make all the reparation in their power. And such is our faith in the justice, in the long run, of the British Government at home and abroad, that we cannot doubt, when once they are in full possession of all the explanations so often needful to compensate for and illustrate the necessary brevity of official documents, that they will, in the spirit of genuine magnanimity, make ample amends to an officer, whom those who know him best, have constantly represented as one of the most conscientious, upright, humane, and high-minded men in a Service which has proved so prolific of natural and moral worth.

Notwithstanding the unexpected length to which this article has been carried, a few words must be added upon the present state of the moral and religious prospects of the provinces.

A general sketch of the Kroung system of education has already been given, and the fact noted of the general spread amongst the people of an elementary education. The Government schools, two in number, were established by Mr. Blundell; the one at Moulmein under the Rev. Mr. Bennett, that at Mergui under Mr. Lachapelle. They were opened in 1834, and that at Moulmein remained under the charge of Mr. Bennett, until 1837, when this gentleman, a member of the American Baptist Mission, being unable to compromise his own opinions on the necessity of religion as an element of education, and therefore unwilling to conform to the Government scheme of education, gave up the charge of the school, and was relieved by Mr. Hough, formerly a member of the same Mission. The Moulmein school continued under Mr. Hough until he was removed from his charge by Captain Durand. The attendance at the two Government schools is subject to constant fluctuation from the loose habits of domestic discipline prevalent in the homes of the scholars. Those most regular in attendance are the children of the Christian clerks in the public offices: the deserted children of officers; and a few children and youths of native subordinates in the public offices who have learned to appreciate the value of the knowledge of English, and are desirous that their sons should acquire that language.

Besides these Government schools are those connected with the American Baptist Mission, which are as follows:—

## MOULMEIN.

|   | <i>Average attendance.</i> |
|---|----------------------------|
| The Burmese Boarding School under the Rev. H. Howard .....          | 90                         |
| Burmese Theological School in charge of the Rev. E. A. Stevens..... | 8                          |
| Burmese Day School under Mrs. J. Ranney .....                       | 20                         |
| Karen Theological School under the Rev. J. G. Binney .....          | 36                         |
| Karen Normal School under Mrs. Binney .....                         | 17                         |
| Syan Karen Boarding School under the Rev. J. Vinton .....           | 154                        |
| Phyo Karen Boarding School under the Rev. E. B. Ballard ...         | 40                         |
| Amherst Day School under Rev. J. M. Haswell .....                   | 56                         |
| Total.....  | 421                        |

District schools are maintained at Chet Thang's Village, Newville, Bootah and Dong Yulu; the Mission School Statistics for Province Amherst are therefore as follows:—

|                                      |                                       |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 2 Seminaries, 24 pupils.             | Whole number of pupils 467            |
| 3 Male Boarding Schools, 174 pupils  | 11 Teachers, Members of Churches      |
| 3 Female Boarding Schools, 90 pupils | 159 Pupils, Members of Churches.      |
| 6 Day Schools, boys 120, girls 59.   | Cost of Schools, 4,450 rupees in 1844 |

## IN THE PROVINCE OF TAVOY.

|  | <i>Average attendance.</i> |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1 School for Native Assistants under the Rev. M. Cross ..... | 23                         |
| 1 Phyo Karen School under the Rev. M. Mason .....            | 12                         |
| 1 Karen Boarding School, under Mrs. Bennett and Mrs. Wade    | 25                         |
| 1 English and Burmese School under the Rev. Mr. Bennett ...  | 30                         |
|  | 90                         |

Eleven schools under Native assistants are maintained in the Mission District Stations, but the average attendance of scholars is not noted.

In addition to the foregoing Government and Mission schools is a school maintained by subscriptions and charitable donations of the Children's Friend Society. The scholars, both boys and girls, are the children of officers, and it is melancholy to add that the funds of this society are by no means adequate to enable the institution to admit, provide for, and educate many children of this class, whose fathers have deserted them, and who are consequently growing up in the darkness and ignorance of the heathen atmosphere in which they live.

Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the labors of the American Baptist Mission, in the educational department. Their schools are far superior in every respect to the Government schools at Moulmein and Mergui, and are producing amongst the Karens very remarkable effects. It should be premised that the Mission had in the Karen, not only to master the two dialects of that language, but also to give a written character to the people. The progress made has been wonderful; their pupils have gone forth into the villages, and have imparted to

their brethren the seeds of knowledge; and no less to the surprize than to the gratification of the Rev. Messrs. Vinton and Binney, Karens from distant provinces, within the dominions of the King of Ava, and from Arracan, have presented themselves at Moulmein with the view of there prosecuting their studies, and of thus advancing from their elementary to higher attainments under "the teachers" as the Mission gentlemen are denominated.

The theological class under Mr. Binney is thus described by that gentleman—"But few of these (students) are from the immediate vicinity of Moulmein; nearly all are from Burmah proper, and a few of them are from Arracan. They have come to us through many difficulties, from about thirteen different places, at distances of from four days to sixteen days' walk to this place.

"Thirteen of the number have their families with them, and every effort is made for their improvement, as it is deemed important to place the assistants in as favorable circumstances as possible to be useful amongst their fellow-countrymen. And we are convinced that their permanent improvement will be secured only as their wives also are improved in knowledge and in habits of industry, neatness and order.

"As their future business is to be to teach and to preach the Bible, the Bible itself is made their first and great subject of study. The Old Testament is not yet translated into the Karen, so that their chief attention has been given to the New Testament. The plan adopted has been to investigate this in chronological order, with a harmony of the Gospel. Every verse is explained, and the main subject of every paragraph is elicited, which each pupil is required to commit to writing for future reference. The first class have thus studied the four Gospels and the Acts, together with the following Epistles; viz. Galatians, first and second to the Thessalonians, Titus, first to Timothy, first and second to Corinthians, Romans, Ephesians, Philipians, Colossians, Philemon and James. These have all been reviewed once, and some of the books have been reviewed the third and fourth time. This class have also studied and reviewed a brief epitome of the Old Testament. They devoted a considerable attention to Geography and to Arithmetic, also to reading and writing; besides which they have other daily and weekly exercises.

"The other classes are pursuing a somewhat similar course, and are in various stages of advancement. Those who have concluded to continue with us for a longer period are engaged in mathematical studies with the Rev. Mr. Vinton.

"The pupils all appear to feel a deep interest in their work.

‘ They have made a good improvement, considering their circumstances, and we have every encouragement that we could reasonably expect. There are difficulties to be overcome ; these, however, were anticipated, and it is with great pleasure we are enabled to say, those difficulties had not been so numerous nor so great as were at first feared. Were we to notice the most prominent points of encouragement, we should mention the deep conviction on the part of many of the assistants, that they *must* be more thoroughly qualified to preach the gospel—the comparative cheerfulness with which this jungle-loving people spend the dry season in the city for study—and the resolution of some to remain with us at least four or five years, to prepare themselves for their great work. We therefore hope, we think with much reason, that the society will not in vain have so liberally aided this institution.”

Who can foresee the amount of benefit which shall result to the Karens from this school for village pastors ? Who foretold the result ? Who that knows the Karens and their passion for their own hills and jungles, could, three years ago, have prognosticated that a stronger feeling was to supplant it in the breasts of these children of the forest, and that they would be brought to undergo with willingness the irksomeness of a long confinement to a town life ? Such, however, is the power of truth and the love of its acquisition. In a climate where neither the European nor the American Missionary can brave the long and heavy monsoon rains, which commencing in May, end in October ; where neither of them can risk, with impunity, exposure in the districts for at least two months after the close of the rainy season, and where, consequently, there are only four months in which they can actively labour in the districts, it is palpable that the mission, in thus forming a class of village pastors, are adopting the only efficacious course to disseminate knowledge and Christianity. The American Missionary will be most advantageously employed in training the native labourers who must go forth into the vineyard and take the rough toil ; the “ teachers” can do no more than visit, advise, and strengthen their native preachers ; the preparation of the latter should be their great work ; they cannot successfully do more.

The Karens have shown great aptitude in a variety of useful acquirements. Mr. Vinton has turned out from amongst his pupils fair Algebraists, and very good land-measurers ; and a Karen, selected from his institution and entrusted with a mission to the Kareni chief by the Commissioner Captain Durand, attained the objects of his Mission, and conducted himself with equal judgment and caution. Spread as this people is throughout the mountain tracts, which traverse the countries of Burmah, Pegu,

the Shan and Siamese countries, and the Tenasserim provinces, what fruits, under the favor and blessing of God, may not be anticipated from this rapidly extending web of Christianity, interlacing, as it will, these wide spread regions; and to human apprehension how great the pity that the want of funds should check the rapid progress of this branch of the American Mission. At the present rate it will take fifty years to accomplish that which might only occupy ten, were there funds sufficient to increase the willing number of native assistants. Surely, as it is in vain to expect the Government to assign funds to the educational exertions of a Mission, it only requires to be better known amongst Englishmen how nobly and disinterestedly their transatlantic brethren are laboring in provinces under British Rule, to lead them to extend the aid which might be productive of such rapid effects.

Not less nobly, because with less remarkable success, labours the Burmese branch of the Mission under the father of the American Burman Mission, the Rev. A. Judson. They have had to struggle against a formed literature, and a regular priesthood to whom from time immemorial the education of the people has been entrusted; still their labour has not been unsuccessful. And whether the light of Gospel truth and Gospel education spread fastest along the mountains or along the plains, amongst Deist Karens or idolatrous Buddhists, it runs, let us hope, little chance of now being quenched; but must eventually, sunlike, wrap in one and the same flood of heavenly light, plain and mountain.

It is to be regretted that the Mission has been unable, from want of men and want of funds, to do more in the Peguan or Talain branch. Mr. Haswell is the only gentleman who has devoted himself to the study of this language, and to employing it as a medium of communication with the people. The Mission coming originally from Burmah proper, it is not surprising that the Peguan, has been somewhat neglected when men were wanting to maintain the ground gained in Burmese.\*

Major Broadfoot gave an impulse to education by the introduction of land measuring and the injunction, that, within a certain time all Thogees of villages must understand not only reading and writing but also land measuring. Captain Durand continued this system and extended its operation to candidates for promotion in the local corps. He also obtained permission for the employment of Mr. Hough in a manner, which might

\* Anxious that some one or more officers of the Commission should have the power of qualifying themselves in Talain, Captain Durand caused a translation of Dr. Judson's Burmese Dictionary to be made into Talain, employing on this work



have been productive of considerable advantage. Observing that the Government schools were stationary in progress—that they were inferior to the mission schools—and that the progress made did not go beyond what an under-teacher ought to be able to lead the pupils to read—also that school books were much wanted ;—Captain Durand freed Mr. Hough, whom he took to be a competent Burmese scholar, for a time, from constant attention to elementary tuition,—setting him to work on translations and the writing of school works, as a temporary occupation, until such time as a higher class of select students could be formed, when it was intended that Mr. Hough should carry on such a class into the higher branches of knowledge. The experiment had no fruit, for reasons sufficiently obvious, at least to all at Moulmein. Another measure of the late Commissioner was not carried into effect, in consequence of the disapproval of Government. Finding that the bulk of the regular attendants at the two Government schools were the children of Christian parents, Captain Durand endeavoured to induce the Government, as an exception to their rule, to permit the introduction of the Bible into the schools in the Tenasserim provinces ; this, as might have been anticipated, was not acceded to. The Government schools have thus remained without progress or improvement, and beyond a very elementary knowledge of English, Arithmetic, and Geography, imparted to a few children, chiefly of clerks and native officials, they have done little towards the diffusion of knowledge.

It is somewhat of a reproach to us as a people to find, that, in the Tenasserim provinces, by far the most efficient and the most beneficial educational establishments are those maintained by the American Baptist Mission ; a body, from a nation having no temporal interest in the country, but nevertheless, entirely devoted to the present and eternal welfare of its people. What will not the gratitude of future generations be to the names of Judson and his compeers, when the truth is preached in future ages from the translations of the Scriptures made, printed and first taught by these American teachers ; and how will it sound, when, in future times, it will be said and truly said, “ Our English Rulers were indeed the conquerors of the Burmese, and wrung from them these fair and beautiful provinces, but our American teachers were the conquerors of ignorance, and dispelled the

a good Talain scholar, who understood Burmese well, and a young native acquainted with Burmese and English. The work when finished was placed in Lieut. Latter's hands, who set himself earnestly to the task of mastering the Talain language. This officer, when about to become useful to the Commissioner, was suddenly removed by Sir T. H. Maddock, and was only restored to the Commission after the removal of his superior. When his return could be of no use to Captain Durand, whose subordinate assistants he had not joined, Lieut. Latter was sent back to the provinces.

darkness from which the English never strove to rescue us." Even, humanly speaking, whose will be the real glory, that of Judson and his brethren, or that of the rulers, who, Christians themselves, could yet establish schools for the training of youth exempt from all religion whatever; and whose countrymen did nothing to retrieve the culpable caution of their brethren in office by early sending labourers into the field. That field is now occupied, and well occupied; and the only manner in which the good work should, by the English, be aided, is by furnishing funds to enable the American Mission to extend its sphere and increase its numbers. Much is written and much said of military heroism, and when the soldier falls on a battle field, the sympathy of a nation forms his shroud; but the highest and the most enduring of all heroism passes unheeded by the world, and, though it may command the sympathy and the admiration of angels, has little earthly to support it. Such is and has been that of the ladies of the American Mission; one by one they fall at their post,—over-exertion and constant labour, shattering their weak frames, whilst they endeavour, not unsuccessfully, to rival their brothers and husbands in the labours of the Mission. Look at the abilities of some of them; their writings in their own and in the difficult tongues they have mastered; their noble characters, the late Mrs. Judson for an instance;—and then to think that paucity of numbers, that a reluctance to be removed from the scene of their labors, and to throw more work upon their husbands and friends, should, humanly speaking, cause the untimely loss of so much talent and goodness! The same, to a less degree, with the men; they too are overworked; undertake more than men can well perform; and only fall less seldom than their ladies, because the latter, in addition to their Mission cares and labors, have those which their families inevitably devolve upon them. The Mission must well know that the loss of an old Missionary, that is, one acquainted with the language and habits of the people, is not replaced by one, two, or half a dozen new Missionaries, and it is to the interests of the cause they have at heart, that their competent men and ladies in the Tenasserim provinces be neither permitted to kill themselves by over-work and exertion, nor by thinking that they have any superhuman powers of conquering sickness and disease; in short, it is essential that more hands be sent into the field;—and it will be a shame to Englishmen if they cannot aid the American Baptist Mission, should funds be any obstacle to increasing the numbers of their emissaries, on the eastern coasts of the bay of Bengal, in provinces under British rule.

ART. IV.—1. *Lois de Manou. Publiées en Sanskrit, par Auguste Deslongchamps.*

2. *Works of Sir William Jones.*

3. *Elphinstone's India, vol. I.*

HISTORY, or Tradition which often supplies the want of history, have invariably assigned a high rank to those great spirits who first compelled a community to recognise the eternal principles of Law. They who consolidated scattered maxims, or gave stability to fluctuating and uncertain rules of life, or stamped with the seal of authority all that was good and pure in transient customs, they, in short, who substituted for the biassed opinion of one or of a number, a determinate and consistent code, have invariably come down to posterity linked with the names of mighty conquerors, founders of art, and inventors of letters. But from a variety of causes an uncertain mist hangs over the life and actions of these law-givers, even while their claims on the admiration of mankind have been as clear and recognized as the sun at midday. While soldier and scholar have been recorded by the pen of admiring companions and humble followers, it has been fated for the legislator to avoid the light, and depart to those lone recesses where popular credulity might fancy him in communion with heavenly influences, or whence it might view him with awe, descending at periodical intervals to bestow the fruits of his treasured wisdom on his erring fellow-men. That the Hindu sage should be involved in such obscurity, is no matter for wonder, when we consider the vague fictions in which Sanskrit literature has indulged. But we see the same result in the early accounts of Greece and Rome. The founders of their laws are either transformed into demi-gods, and placed as Bacon observes, second only to the inventors of arts, or are men of whom nothing is known. Grecian mythology represents Minos as the son of Jupiter on earth, and the judge of the shades afterwards. Numa must hold nocturnal consultations with Egeria before he can give laws to the rising colony of Rome. Lycurgus stands before us only as the prototype of Spartan severity. Draco is the image of legalised blood-thirstiness. Even Solon, a much more historical character, is associated with Epimenides, and must share in the traditions with which the latter's history is deformed.

Who then was Manu, and what were his objects? are ques-

tions often asked, which may be answered in two or perhaps more ways. Of his antiquity, and we may say, his reality, there can be no doubt. For though the plan of the work is evidently dramatic, yet it is as clear that the code was compiled by a Brahman well versed in the lore of the Vedas, and to a certain extent in the ways of the world: combining secular and book knowledge at once. Nor again is there any doubt as to Manu's being the main fountain, whence the religious observances of a country, where every custom is based on religion, the hopes and fears of the Hindu for this life and the next, the various regulations of society and intercourse, marriage and inheritance, birth-rites and funeral pyres, spring and are perpetuated. He is indeed the Shastra to which learned and unlearned alike appeal. The well-read Pundit, when we inquire of him the reason for this or that custom, will base his answer on a text of Manu. The secular Hindu, nay the unlettered Ryot, while pleading in extenuation of some grave folly sanctioned by the transmission of ages, unconsciously repeat the substance of some time-hallowed sloke. But most Hindus, if asked the age and date of their great legislator would answer in a breath, that he was the son of the "self-existent," that he was taught his laws by Brahma in one hundred thousand verses, and that he finally delivered them in an abridged form to his son Bhṛigu, who gave them currency in the world.

• The European scholar, acquiescing in the antiquity of Manu, has often busied himself with speculations as to his identity with law-givers in other countries and ages. We shall avoid what we cannot but consider a needless waste of time, and forbear to inquire whether Manu be the same with Minos, or with the Moon, or with the Sanskrit word *Manas*, whether it was the first of that name or the seventh whom Brahmans believe to have been preserved in an ark from the deluge; whether the divine bull of Dharma has an affinity with the Egyptian Apis, or with the Cretan Minotaur, or whether several precepts of extraordinary stringency are to be considered as applicable only to the three first and more pure ages of the Hindu world. Such questions we hold to be entirely abhorrent from the true province of Historical investigation. They can never be perfectly settled to every one's satisfaction, and speculation on them only raises up another hypothesis to which every one has some point of dissension to urge. But viewing Manu as a graphic picture of the manners of a somewhat advanced state of society, and as a combination of religious precepts and human laws, which to a certain extent supply the materials

for History, we think that a considerable deal of valuable knowledge may be extracted from the book, if tested only by the legitimate rules of philosophical inquiry. Manu's system is not one of uncompromising ambition or unmingled priestcraft *suddenly* erected by some one enterprising Brahman, for those whom his arms had vanquished in the field. It is not a code springing at once into life from the superior intellect of a single individual, like armed Pallas from the head of Jupiter. It is a strange compound of mœurs and enactments. It is not a mere picture of domestic manners, for it has several chapters expressly devoted to politics and law. It is not a mere code of jurisprudence for it dives into the minutest economies of private life. It displays all the elaborate arrangement of the Pandects with an equally elaborate provision for those household duties which other legislators have deemed excluded from their province. It attends on the King or Rajah in his hall of audience or in his closet; it follows the husbandman to the field, and waits on the mahajan in his shop. It prescribes rules for the Brahman at his great sacrificial supper, or at his homely repast; it regulates his carriage, his very look, the stick on which he leans, his address to his superiors or inferiors: all his outcomings and his ingoings. It extends its universal sceptre over every social relation, from the pleading of causes in court to the earliest studies of the student in the four Vedas, and from the ceremonies consequent on the birth of a Brahman to the day when he shall quit his mortal frame, "as a bird leaves the branch of a tree."

This is but a necessary part of the great Hindu system. Religion, minute in its observances, was to be the foundation on which every rule of life was based, and the whole code pursues this object with undeviating attention from first to last. We shall endeavour to show hereafter who or what the author must have been. But call him Manu, Bhrigu or Sumati, give him the name of any other ancient Hindu sage, his work is a remarkable instance of what an Eastern intellect can produce. Whoever the law-giver was, his imagination, as Elphinstone well remarks, must have been singularly impure. He is liable to the charge of unhealthy superfluity, which every reader of satire brings against Juvenal, and which Johnson denounced in Swift. He revels in ideas from which others would shrink with disgust. He fears no pollution from the contact of pitch. He evolves with scrupulous accuracy those offensive particulars, which we could hardly imagine as uttered in the very depths of the confessional. He presumes to dictate to conscience what she would amply pro-

vide for by her own unwritten laws. He recalls with tedious minuteness and wearisome amplification what a well-regulated mind would never think of at all, or only think of to banish for ever.

And yet amidst all this admitted impurity—one eminent characteristic of Hindu literature—we find many traces of a high and even a noble spirit. It is in fact this mighty mixture of the mean and the great, which so distinguishes this composition from others, and excites in turn our pity, our enthusiasm, and our contempt. In some passages the code would have aroused the lavish encomiums of Voltaire: in others it might have called forth the philosophic sneer of Gibbon: and, viewed as a whole, it would certainly have brought into action the compassionate criticisms of the high-souled Pascal, as exhibiting in one compendious volume a striking picture of the frailty and the majesty of man. Never before or since have the follies of the wise, and the weaknesses of the strong, and the ignorances of the learned, and the contrarieties of human passions, and virtues with their adjacent and their opposite vices, been so signally blended and placed side by side. He who would acknowledge the truth of the foregoing words must peruse deliberately the three thousand couplets which make up the total. There, in startling relief, contrasting as strongly as the vivid lightning on the black thunder cloud, will he see, in perhaps one and the same page, puerilities of thought joined with masculine vigour of mind: Baconian profundity and bald truisms: the maxims of Confucius or of Socrates linked with those of the most jesuitical dishonesty: Draco's sternness, and the simplicity of patriarchal justice: the politeness of Chesterfield, and the rampant pride of Brahmanical domination: wise saws straight as a sunbeam, and casuistry, tortuous and at variance with itself: sensible views of natural history and vague and childish solutions of the most common phenomena: truth and falsehood: darkness and light: and much that is noble and admirable in morals, with all that is vile and degraded in superstition.

It seems as if the author had been partially aware of these contradictions, but either from a secret unwillingness to hold them up to the world, or from inability to combine and digest, had been blinded to the incongruous result. We are perpetually reminded in the perusal of one engaged in useless struggles after a purer state in the midst of gross and earthly realities. The author had evidently two objects in view—to restrain and check the sins and crimes of his cotemporaries, by establishing something of the Satya Yug in place of the Kali or iron age,

and to give by law that license which men had hitherto assumed from interest or violence. But all his endeavours only prove incontestably that the golden and silver ages have long passed away, and that brass and similar materials are those whence his society is moulded. He talks, indeed, as if in the Republic of Plato, but he reminds us incontinently that we are with him in the very dregs of Romulus. Here he indulges in the pleasing vision of giving laws to a people whose thoughts and deeds are bowed in perfect obedience to his controul. He dreams of a time when all Brahmans shall go regularly through the four stages of life, poor and content: with every man's hand open before them, and yet refusing more than the subsistence of the passing day: when the king and Kshatriya shall watch over the contented ryot: when the Vaisya shall engage in harmless mercantile pursuits, and the Sudra reclaim the ground into the payment of its annual tribute: when cows shall graze unrestrained over every man's land with sages and penitents for their keepers: when the tender young shall no longer die, nor deformed animals be born; when knowledge shall be esteemed before worldly advancement, and silent meditation before sacrifice: when the upraised hand shall be no more seen nor violence of the tongue heard: when truth, justice, and plenty shall walk hand in hand over the smiling provinces, and war and rapine be no longer known. A few steps onward and the cherished dream has vanished away. We are recalled to an advanced, and to a *certain extent*, a civilized state of society, where worldly interests are at work, and human passions clashing, and vice, sin, and crime contending for the division of a fair and goodly heritage. It is allowed by the severest rules of historical enquiry that special and minute provisions laid down argue the case provided for as one not by any means of uncommon or remote occurrence. Still further, it is conceded that frequent incidental allusions to grave offences, to dark spots in society, to vice and crime in their various phases, are sure and incontrovertible testimonies to a low state of morals. —Allusions indeed resemble the preamble to a modern enactment: provisions laid down are the clauses of the act itself. It needs no ghost from the grave to tell us, that a legislator does not summon up phantoms merely to exorcise them, or, like Dominie Sampson engaged in a controversy with lawyer Pleydell, fire upon the mere dust kicked up by his antagonist. He does not lay down cautions with scrupulous definitiveness against visionary shadows which may possibly flit about at some future time. He points his battery of eloquence

against notorious and crying offences, arraigns delinquents whose deeds are clearly recognised, and endeavours to check irregularities which his own experience teaches him, are of hourly birth. Viewed by this test, for which we shelter ourselves under the approval of philosophic historians, Manu appears to us, partly in the light of a *Reformer* at an age when civilization had certainly reached to a considerable height, but when society was pervaded by the spirit of Ahriman exactly as it is now. When perusing the code with even ordinary attention, we can easily distinguish between the command and the permission: between the direct injunction to abstain from this crime or to perform that duty, and the permission granted in cases of special difficulty to the tender conscience. In some places an existing evil is sanctioned that good may come, or at least that a greater evil may not ensue. Abduction is actually *legalised*, as we shall prove hereafter, and classed under one of the eight sorts of marriage, and pious frauds and perjuries declared not only allowable but even admirable. Frequent references are made to "immemorial custom." Its authority is allowed the pre-eminence over all others. It is to be the solution of every riddle: the explanation of every difficult case. It is to expound the law in doubtful or obscure points, and to supply it where absolutely deficient. It is the acknowledged basis of the code itself when promulgated; it is to meet every future contingency, and moreover is to be expounded by learned Brahmins alone.

Before proceeding to discuss any particular part of the Institutes, we must venture a protest against the useless expenditure of time and trouble in which those orientalists indulge who are anxious to elucidate curious particulars in the domestic economy of the Hindus. Unquestionably superficial knowledge is often most pernicious, and a thorough investigation imperative on all who desire a right view of either books or men; but the object must be worth the cost. We gladly ourselves engage in antiquarian researches on the manners and customs of ancient Greece and Rome. Or if the pen be not taken up by our own hand, we joyfully avail ourselves of the labours of others. Nations, who either maintained the freedom of Europe inviolate against the encroaching despotism of Asia, or whose elements, mingled with the Teutonic, are the component parts of nations at this day—whose taste and appreciation of physical and intellectual beauty have passed into a proverb—whose laws were "written out" on the face of all those with whom they came in contact—who are majestic in their zenith or venerable in their decline—whose grandeur awes us, or whose



exquisite loveliness invites—such nations deserve to be studied in their foreign policy as well as in their household economy, in the forum or market as well as by the homely altar or fireside, in their ways of social intercourse, in their national aims, in their individual objects of ambition. We pursue all such with an affectionate importunity, which will not be baffled, and in part repay the obligations under which they have laid us by elucidating every point in their manners and filling up every omission in the great historical painting. But it is surely not so with Sanskrit literature or with the ancient Hindu. He has no claim on the obedience of mankind or the admiration of nations, who were yet in their cradle while he lorded it at Panchala. To him the world is under no debt. No element in mixed oriental society is deducible from him. He has lived for himself, and can now demand nothing from the Pilgrims of the East or the West. Even in books of real value, like the one we are discussing, there are many parts hardly worth the passing glance of a moment. Rules regarding purification or sacrificial suppers, or diet, or penance, or unmeaning observances, with which one-half the code is taken up, are surely not worth the labour of the most ardent orientalist. It is very praiseworthy in classical scholars to puzzle themselves, in endeavours to get at the truth of that “hitherto unsolved problem,” the construction of the ancient trireme, or in building a model of Virgil’s almost incomprehensible plough. We feel shame if we do not remember that a Roman dinner began with eggs and ended with apples, but we really have not the slightest anxiety as to why buffalo meat was once permitted at a Śraddha, and why it is now banished from that entertainment. We care to learn at what age the young patrician assumed the manly toga, but we have no solicitude as to the different epochs when the youthful Kshatriya shall receive the sacred investiture. The epicure will give a sigh at the mention of Lucrine oysters or Copaic eels, will smack his lips over the Parvenu’s dinner in Horace, and not refuse compassion even to Smollett’s pedant and his repast after the manner of the ancients. But no one is distressed at not knowing the quality of ghee in the days of Vicramaditya, or the different kinds of rice-messes which Manu’s Brahmans might lawfully eat. Let Pundits meditate on what Pundits wrote. What different births a grievous sinner will have to endure: what is the difference between a perivetttri and a perivitti: how many degrees of relationship may be admitted after the offering of rice: why a man with whitlows on his nails must be excluded: how many times a Brahmachari is to

sip water when he wakes: which quarter of the heavens he is to turn to if he seeks long life, and which if he desires exalted fame: when the girdle may be made of the munja and when of the khusa grass: why the Pitris (manes) should be satisfied for ten months with the flesh of wild boars and cleven with that of rabbits: why the moment when the shadow of an elephant falls to the East should be one of unusual purity; what are the distinctions between Sapindas and Samanodacas—these and such like questions, which deter many from any inquiry into orientalism, have been invariably deemed the particular province of the bigotted pedant, and the legitimate target of the satirist, and are those which Bacon would most certainly have included in the sentence denounced against *fantastic knowledge*.

Leaving, therefore, all such speculations, we will see what real value may be extracted from the code. But it may not be altogether irrelevant to state the circumstances under which Manu was first made available to the mass of English readers. Eastern literature is here under a deep obligation to Sir William Jones, and it is to his sole endeavours that we owe an English version of the Institutes. When he first endeavoured to win entrance into the temple of Sanskrit lore, bigotry met him at the threshold and barred his further progress. The precepts of Hindu sages were for once acted on to the very letter, and in the most uncompromising spirit. The chief native magistrate or Foujdar of Benares (query a Mussulman?) endeavoured to procure a Persian translation of the work, but the Pandits were unanimous in their refusal of assistance. Even the guru with whom Jones read, earnestly requested that his name might be concealed and would only read on certain days and under certain “planetary influences.” But wealth or interest found out a means of satisfying Sir William’s wishes. A rich Hindu at Gaya, by Mr. Law’s request, caused a version to be made by his dependants, and Jones partly leaning on this doubtful aid, and partly depending on his own untiring energies, gave the result of his labours to the world in the shape of a translation. The work, divided into the orthodox number of twelve books, has since been revised by Haughton, and is generally speaking accurate and expressive. We will venture to find fault with two or three phrases of Sir William’s, which however are important as they tend to convey a false impression of the state of society at the time. We do not see why the Sanskrit words Brahman or twice-born should almost invariably be rendered by the term “priest.” From the evi-

dence of the code itself, we can say, with confidence, that not one Brahman in five hundred ever maintained that character through the four stages of his life, or even through the first two. Apart from the distinct European notion of a "priest," it is quite clear to us that to call the Brahman a priest, or in other words a holy man, devoted to religion and austerity, or to sacrifice and reading, is to call him exactly what he was *not*. From the permission granted to the Grihastha or householder, to engage in sundry secular employments, not to speak of the natural difficulties of the order in its advanced stages, we are compelled to believe that almost all Brahmans rested contentedly at the second periods. Licensed to trade, and all his worldly duties provided for, the Householder was satisfied when he had "lighted his lamp," i. e. when he had surrounded himself with a family and had no more intention of wandering in the jungles, or of undergoing the penance of five fires, than any of the portly Banerjis and Mukarjis have at the present day. Here and there we doubt not, a solitary instance might be seen of a man who had become "a wood-goer," to end in the Sannyasi, if he was lucky enough to escape the tigers. But as a general rule we should wish the word priest to be exchanged for the simple word Brahman. As little do we see why that useful scavenger the jackal should be metamorphosed into "the shakal," and still less why the bird *baba*, or as we now call it, the *bogla*, should be translated "bittern." Had the great orientalist made a mofussil trip to Kishnagar for so little purpose, or in his evening constitutional walk from the Supreme Court to the Gardens, had he never by any chance seen a common *paddy-bird* flying by the side of the Moti Jheel?\*

Leaving however these slight blots in a work otherwise

\* We cannot refrain from mentioning an anecdote of Sir William Jones, though not immediately connected with our subject; as it illustrates forcibly the state of the metropolis at that time. Sir William was in the habit of walking from the court to the gardens where he lived, and from the gardens to the court. On one occasion he was stopped by a soldier, who demanded his purse. Sir William gave it. The soldier then demanded his watch. Sir W. refused to give it up, saying that it was a gift of his mother's, and that nothing should induce him to part with it. At the same time he put himself into an attitude of defence with a staff which he carried. The soldier struck with his demeanour offered to return the purse, saying that he would not take *his* money. Sir W. desired him to keep it as a means of procuring him an honest livelihood, and then walked on. The facts of this case were told by the soldier, who was afterwards executed for a highway robbery, to a gentleman who visited him when in prison after his condemnation. The soldier added that if he had followed Sir W.'s advice, he would not have been where he was. The gentleman subsequently mentioned the case to Sir W. who would neither admit nor deny its correctness. But the party who mentioned it felt quite assured of its truth. We hold the above anecdote from the most unexceptionable authority.

unexceptionable, we must next state that to the readers of Manu in the original a great help is afforded by the commentary of Kalluka. This worthy has shared the fate common to other scholiasts; for but little is known of him and even that much is told by himself. The Pandits who "care little for genuine chronology," are unable to tell us his age or date, even whilst they name him with applause. He informs us that he was a Brahman of the Varendra tribe, whose family had long been settled in Gour or Bengal, but that, with a view doubtless at greater acquirements in Sanskrit learning, he had fixed his residence at the sacred city of Benares. It is due to the author of the code to state that he is never *dishonestly* obscure. He never labours to give his words a double interpretation, which the evil-minded might torture into a sanction or even a command. Wherever he enforces a moral precept, or expounds the great laws of conscience, or denounces crime, or thunders against sin, he is clear, straight-forward, and explicit. If in several passages his moral standard is lowered, there is no effort at disguise. The fact is avowed in the most frank unblushing manner. Whenever his sentences are dark or vague, it is when descending to some frivolous observances, or when fixing the days and hours of a penance, or the number and species of devotional offerings. And when there is a doubt as to the proper fortnight, or the lucky planet, when Pandits might differ as to the degrees of relationship or the amount of fine to be levied from the four classes severally, Kalluka comes in, to settle the dispute and give currency to the right reading. Aided by Sir William Jones' English, the un-oriental scholar may become acquainted with Brahmanical learning almost as pure as if drawn from the fountain head; and aided by Kalluka, the Sanskrit beginner will find his labour smoothed whilst poring over the excellent Paris edition, whose title we have prefixed to this paper.

Though not intending to touch on the merits of the Sanskrit language in this paper, we may remark that the style of Manu throughout is simple and expressive. Here and there perhaps it is tinged with rough and antiquated forms of expression or mixed with sterling old couplets from the Vedas. But it is void of all those endless aliterations which occur in the later writers. Words are yoked together no farther than is consistent with the unchanging laws of Sanskrit euphony, and we have been unable to find throughout a single instance of that truly eastern conceit, a play upon words or a *pun*. With every allowance for the tendency of Pandits and poets

to engage in these absurdities, we should still have been staggered on meeting them in the Institutes. A *pun* occurring in the grave Hindu code of law and morals would have created in us the same astonishment as if we had seen one in the last draft of a new act read before the Governor-General in Council.

We here take our leave of the purely critical part of our subject, and return to topics of more general interest. Our first wish naturally is to obtain some insight as to the particular part of the country where the law-giver resided, and though his private history or fortunes are quite matter of conjecture, he tells us in plain language and good geography, where a Brahman may lawfully reside. The first land on which the conquerors set foot was that between the Saraswati (Sarsooty) and the Drishadwati (Caggar,) a tract to the north west of Delhi, about sixty miles long by twenty broad, and termed Brahnavartta, or "that frequented by Gods." This, however, was manifestly insufficient for the progressive spirit of Brahmanism, and a larger space, comprising nearly all the North West Provinces, is set down as "Brahmarshi," where the teachers of law and immemorial custom, may fix their dwelling place. In the above grant are comprehended, Kurukshetra or Thannesar, the battle-field of India for ages, Surasena or Mathura, not yet eclipsed by the neighbouring splendour of Akbarabad, Panchala, or Kanyacubja, the modern Kanouj, and the time-honoured title of many an up-country Brahman, and lastly Matsya, by which both Pandits and European scholars understand the districts of Rungpore and Dinajpore, or those of north-eastern Bengal. In the above enumeration we thus get the whole country from a hundred miles north of Delhi down to the very borders of Lower Bengal, including Allahabad, Benares, and the greater part of Behar. But lest there should be any doubt as to the extent of jurisdiction, when the tide flowed on, we are told immediately after that the whole country between the Himalaya and the well-known Vindhya range, which run across the peninsula from east to west, is termed Aryavartta, or "the residence of respectable men:" and with a provision probably for the further spread of the religion over the unconquered regions of the Dekhan, it is laid down that "the land on which the black buck naturally grazes," differs from that of the Mlechhas, and may be "fit for sacrifice." The above comprehensive denunciation may take in any thing from Bombay to Madras, or even

elsewhere,—the conqueror, or the sportsman, being at no loss to find, even in the spread of cultivation, the antelope still grazing in Telingana or in several districts of Lower Bengal.

The mention of Matsya, indicative of a region of fish, might almost justify the speculation, whether in the remote times of Manu, Lower Bengal was not an arm of the sea, gradually filling up by an alluvial deposit, just as Herodotus describes the Egyptian Delta to have been formed by the yearly additions of the Nile. It might be asserted with show of reason, that the waves of the ocean then washed shores now some hundred miles removed from their influence. But such inquiries would only excite while they failed to gratify an idle curiosity. We turn rather to the scenes over which we are confident that Manu's laws held sway. The repeated mention of rocks, of mountains, of hill forts, of lions, of camels, of battles, of the men of Indraprastha, rearing their tall forms in the vanguard,—tell us convincingly that we stand on Upper India. Allusions to the sea, to the month of Choitra (March and April) being the best for land expeditions, and that of Jyeshtha (May and June) for the examination of boundaries, to rivers rolling onward to the great ocean—tell us no less indisputably that we are dealing with Bengal. References to dakoits, thieves, and plunderers, speak of a state pretty common to both divisions of the presidency. But turn to the character of the people, for whom Manu's laws were compiled, and retrospectively or by anticipation, volumes could not describe more accurately the inhabitant of Bengal! The advantage over an enemy which is ever to be looked for and never suffered to pass unimproved, the distrust with which a Raja should look on all his neighbours: the encroachment on adjoining zemindaries legalised: the *shuri* or spirit seller with his unmistakeable flag: the wife jealously guarded and yet dishonouring the husband: the Raja's servant demanding fees from all who come to him on business: the cruel punishment denounced against crimes of every day occurrence: the quarrels about inheritance: the trespasses of cattle and consequent disputes: the hired workman refusing to perform his contract: the sensuality reigning from the King's palace to the crowded bazar—by these and a few other like touches what author has ever so vividly portrayed the prominent features of Bengal and the besetting sins of the Bengali? Let us in imagination transfer ourselves back to the time when the old Hindu customs had not been changed by the onward tide of invasion. Let us endeavour to forget that an Affghan king once reigned in Bengal: that Mussalman influence spread onwards to Dacca and reached the borders of Arracan:

that the Portuguese erected a church or a factory at Húgly, or that the Englishman traded at Govindpore and Cossimbazar; let us isolate the Hindu part of the population from the contact of Arabian and European agencies, and the Raja of Manu's time stands out before us, in bright and vivid colours, the Zemindar of Bengal to-day.

But it will be our endeavour to depicture some of the divisions of society in those old times, and premising that none of our readers are ignorant of the four great distinctions of caste, we commence at once with the King himself. The King, Raja, or Zemindar, to use a modern expression, was the highest executive power in the state. Backed by the wise counsels and safe under the prayers of Brahmans, from his residence, protected either by natural or artificial defences and situated in a country favourable for agriculture, he must apply himself diligently to the welfare of his subjects. He is to "draw up" his revenue gradually as the sun draws up water during eight months of the year: as Indra rains during the remaining four, so must he rain gratifications on his people: as the wind pervades all creatures, so must he pervade every thing by his emissaries: as Yama judges the departed, so must he punish offenders. Punishment of a "black hue and with a flaming eye" advances, under his guiding hand, to destroy sin, that the stronger may not roast the weaker "like fish on a spit." We may here remark, that the root *badh* is capable of meaning either "binding" or slaying, and wherever a fine in money is not expressly specified, or death or the cruel punishment of amputation ordained for the offending member, the scholar is left in doubt as to how he should render the above term.\* Probably the word was purposely employed in order to admit of severity and leniency as the case might require. But where special modes of correction are denounced some are barbarously cruel or impossible, and others puerile, if capable of execution. Adulterers are to be put to death by "Damien's bed of steel:" goldsmiths who forge, to be cut to pieces by sharp razors: those who damage public roads, or fill up ditches, or obstruct water courses, or throw down gates, or destroy their neighbour's land-marks, are to be punished some corporally, some by banishment, and some by fine. The breaker of a *bund*, is to be immersed under water for a considerable time: unskilful or infuriated drivers are to be fined: robbers to be put to death in public places: burglars to be maimed, and those

\* The term *badhya* is given by Wilson as "deserving of death," but the root *badh* is capable of bearing both meanings—to bind or to slay.

who have so little regard for the sanctity of Brahmins as to seize them by their locks or by the throat, must instantly have deep incisions made in their hands!! But fines are proportioned to the caste, and the Brahmin invariably bears the lightest load. He pays fifty panas when the Kshetriya would pay a hundred: he is fined where the Sudra would forfeit his life. No amount of crime can ever sanction any injury to his person or property, and banishment is the worst sentence which the king's anger can pronounce against him.

We have discussed the subject of punishment first, because it is the great attribute of Manu's King. He exercises it without interference, guided only by the laws laid down, and by the sense of expediency in time and place. But while he punishes offenders, he must not neglect his revenue, and this subject, however complicated in the present day, is laid down in Manu with tolerable accuracy and clearness. It is now generally agreed that at the time of the Decennial settlement we conferred on many zemindars rights which they never enjoyed under the Mussulman rule. From the time of Akbar's great revenue system, through all the subsequent reigns, some of the revenues were paid in by a collector or farmer, but not a landholder as we at present understand the term. At first we proceeded on this system of collection—for which witness the atrocities of Devi Sing and Burke's memorable burst of eloquence—and then by a strange forgetfulness invested the collector with territorial rights. It is partly to this that we owe those manifold opinions which still prevail on the *verata questio*, whose is the land? But it is tolerably certain on the other hand that the Rajas of Manu, and several of those in the days of Akbar, had certain defined rights as the Lords of the soil. The land indeed belonged to the man who cleared it from jungle, just as the deer was the prey of the hunter who struck it. But the surplus produce might be taken by the king in the various proportions of one-twelfth, one-eighth, or even one-fourth “without the incurrance of sin,” and besides the usual payment in corn, there were a variety of collateral means of increasing the revenue. Cattle, jewels, and gold were taxed at one-fiftieth: trees, fruits, honey, and other tithes of phalkar and bankar at one-sixth: leather and stone utensils at the same rate: fines, if realised, were the king's: property recovered from thieves was subject to a valuation and of treasure trove, and minerals he might claim one-half.

It is not removed from the province of our inquiry to mark the different spirit with which the British regulations are



laid down. With the exception of the great salt tax, there is now scarce one direct import on the luxuries or necessaries of life. The opium duty is paid by the Chinese, not by the inhabitant of India: a duty on spirits, as taken by the Abkary laws, is perhaps one of the most equitable in any scheme of taxation, provided the law tend not to the increase of intoxication: and our land revenue is exacted on an average, *taken from several districts*, at the very moderate rate of one-twelfth of the crop. We derive no advantage from treasure trove, but only claim a Government share when the amount discovered exceeds the limit of one lakh of rupees. We have done our duty by the landholders in a moderate assessment, in a just regard for their rights, real or supposed, and in a due preservation of all that religion or prejudice has taught them to value. It remains for them to do their part in the work by a remission of unjust cesses and abwas, by careful supervision of their agents, and by a firm but temperate authority over their ryots. Until the zemindars practically acknowledge the importance of these great truths, the country will still remain under the sole influence of laws, and we all know the inutility of *leges sine moribus*.

We need not enter into any long argument to prove that India in Manu's days was subdivided into a number of petty kingdoms, or that the universal or even the partial supremacy of one monarch over the rest was unknown. This is quite clear from the whole context. The duties of a king so ably described in the seventh book are evidently meant for application to a number of petty subdivisions. They are the production of one who had seen a little of camps and courts, and who possibly had assisted with his counsels some Raja, great or small, in the catalogue of existing princes. The mention of foreign foes, troublesome neighbours, embassies, diplomatic arts, means of defence and attack, policy for the timid and weak, and active measures for the strong—speak in convincing language of a divided empire where every man's hand must be occasionally raised against his neighbour. The art of war fills a considerable space, and the time for marches, the order of march, the disposition of elephants, cavalry and foot, are clearly drawn out. But we strongly suspect that the Raja who abode by Manu's guidance,<sup>9</sup> would soon have admitted the truth of the historian's remark, that battles fought and won by written tactics, equal the number of epic poems constructed according to the rules of criticism. The provisions for soldiers in battle are a singular proof of the absurdities men fall into when they attempt things out of their

province. Gifted Gilfillan inflicted a deal of nonsense on Waverly, as he walked beside his horse, but talked sense when he touched on the legality of self-defence. Manu is sensible enough in his advice to the king, but is ludicrous when he advises the warrior as to his duties. Needless cruelty is reprov'd and humanity inculcated. So far all is good. No advantage over a foe is to be taken, and with such minuteness are the cautions laid down, that had they been capable of execution we will be bound all battles in Manu's day would have been as bloodless as the paper warfare of two excited authors. A soldier "calling to mind the duty of honorable men" must never strike with barbed weapons, nor from a car attack a man on foot, nor strike one without his coat of mail, nor one who is naked, nor one fighting with others, nor one whose weapon is broken, nor a wounded man, nor a coward, nor one looking on, nor a fugitive, nor one whose long hair obstructs his sight, nor one who is tired or afflicted, nor one who says, "I am thine:" and so forth. But we will not pursue the absurd catalogue any further. Was there no Hannibal among the men of Kurukshetra to stop this ranting Phorinio by a well-timed rebuke?

The internal affairs of the kingdom might be delegated by the Raja to subordinate officers. Over each village was a headman, who himself was under the eye of a Lord of ten villages. He in his turn looked up to a Lord of twenty, and placed over this last worthy, the Lord of one hundred saw the Lord of a thousand, the only officer between himself and the king. Even as far back as Manu do we find the traces of the subletting system! all information of local occurrences, robberies, affrays, was to be transmitted in regular succession to the highest functionary of the above-named, and so similar are the precautions generated by similar states of society at different epochs, that on reading the above in Manu we can hardly divest ourselves of the notion that we are perusing a British regulation, applicable to the state of the country in the last forty years. This concentration of local influences and sympathies in a village Government, has been one cause of preserving intact in a great measure, the spirit of Hinduism, and of nullifying the innovations naturally consequent on Mussulman invasions and revolving dynasties. But it has also had the effect of wrapping up the ryot in himself. It has quite taken away any remnant of patriotism. It has, to use the expressive language of a well-known official, substituted the *amor busti*, for the *amor patriæ*. It has brought the cultivator to look no further than his own village, his

own clump of bambus, his tank half covered with weeds, and it has made him the easy tool of the individual who for the time being happens to be the Hampden of the community.

The idea generally suggested by the mention of Hindu society in Manu's time is that of a period when the well-known three classes of the Brahmans, the Kshetriya and the Vaisya, triumphed in the degradation of the conquered Sudra. And undoubtedly it was the aim of the compiler to afford but little relief to the Sudra's low estate. A few concessions here and there, are however granted him by policy. Compare his condition with that of the slaves of antiquity, and all will allow that he was much better off. He was not a chattel of the state, like the Spartan Helot. He was never treated with that savage ferocity which befell the Roman captive, or debased like the domestic slave at Athens. He was never wantonly butchered to make an Indian holiday, or intoxicated that the young Brahmachari might contract an horror of drunkenness from the sight. There were no laws against his emigration. He might fix his residence wherever he chose. He might sacrifice, provided he abstained from reading the Veda. He was forbidden to receive the sacred investiture, but still once or twice we have allusions to Sudras wearing the marks of the twice-born, and to kingdoms where there were no Brahmans (i. e. where conquest had not yet spread), and which owned a Sudra population and king. On the whole the Sudra could not have been much worse off than many of the husbandmen in Bengal at the present day, nor do we read of anything indicative of jealousy from the ruling classes, which might necessitate measures as horrible as the famous one mentioned by Thucydides, when some two thousand Helots, whose manliness of character rendered them objects of fear to the Spartan Government, suddenly vanished from the face of day, and were *forgotten* in an oubliette, or some other capacious engine of death.

But whether we agree to or dissent from the opinion that the Sudras were the conquered Aborigines of India, it must not be supposed for a moment that the rigid barriers between the castes were never relaxed. We have minute rules laid down for the conduct of the mixed classes and elaborate definitions of their properties and names. We have Brahmans intermarrying with Sudras, and Kshetriyas with Brahmanis: we hear of kaiverts employed in catching fish and karavaras cutting leather. We are stunned with the uncouth appellations of Bhurjacantucas, and Pushpadas, of Dhigvanas, and

Ayogavas, of Jhalla, Malla, Puccasa, and Kukkutava. But there is hope even for the most degraded. By extreme devotion they may rise to the higher class, or by the reverse, sink. A Sudra *may* become a Brahman, and a Brahman descend to the state of a Sudra. A Brahman may subsist by mercantile pursuits, and it may be interesting to the Rothschild Babús of Calcutta to know that their present usurious rate of interest is sanctioned by the high authority of their great legislator. Several rules are mentioned in order to fix the rate. The lowest is one in eighty, or one and a quarter per cent. in the month, equivalent to fifteen per cent. a year. Even this exceeds the old Roman rate of the *usura centesima*, or twelve per cent. per annum. But in the very next verse Shylock rises in his demands. He may take twenty-four per cent. per annum from a Brahman, thirty-six ditto from a Kshetriya, and sixty from a Vaisya "without incurring grievous sin." Any thing beyond the last, we are gravely told, is usurious, and at no time should the interest be more than sufficient to double the debt!

We have gone into this part of the Institutes more minutely, because from traits like these the reader can best judge of the whole state of society. At every step we are reminded of what we see and hear around us now: of the unchanging Toryism of the Hindu: of a forward state of civilization and of primeval barbarism: of intellect rising to lofty aims and dropping to captious hair-splitting on the most worthless of speculations. Let us turn to the great event of an Hindu's life—his marriage—and the peculiarity we allude to is marked with lines broad and deep. By eight different ways the nuptial tie may be fastened. Manu tells us that a difference of opinion prevailed amongst wise men as to their legality, but *he* sanctions all with the exception of two. One, the Asura, is profaned by the gifts which the bride's father receives from his son-in-law: the second, or Paisacha, is nothing more or less in plain language than violation accomplished by deceit. But of the six which he sanctions, to how many can the word marriage be applied? But *four* may be termed blameless, and we read with pleasure the description of the bridegroom learned in the Vedas, and the bride decked with ornaments, of the orthodox gift of a pair of kine, and the blessing pronounced by the father "may both of you perform conjointly the duties of life." It is due to the legislator to state that he puts a certain veto on all but these four, and condemns the remainder either expressly or by the inducements of interest. Two we have remarked on above. Of the remainder, one, the Gandharva, is simple

*cohabitation*, and the other the *Rakshasa* or demoniacal, is described as that where the maiden is seized by force from her house, weeping and calling for aid, her friends and relations having been wounded or killed, and their residence broken open! yet by law, we are told, this marriage is permitted to the *Kshetriya*—not commanded, it is true, but legalised with all the grave sanction which the word *Dharma* can give. Can any arguments plead in more convincing language, or prove more demonstratively that the society for which Manu wrote, was daily marked by rapine, lawlessness, and the rule of might?

Here we must not pass over the glimpses given us of the general estimation in which the female sex were held. Woman, even then, was vilified and degraded. Her personal beauty is judged by the gross standard of eastern taste: her moral qualities are set down as altogether deficient. At no period of life can she aim at independence. Successively her father, her husband, and her sons must bear sway. Household duties are the noblest aims to which she can aspire, and the satisfaction of her master, her only legitimate praise. But there is no passage in the whole of the book which Brahmanical dexterity could possibly twist into a sanction of the rite of *Sati*. The prior decease of the husband is contemplated, and rules are clearly laid down for the conduct of his widow. Some women had married again—witness the term *parapurudā* --but such was not the path which the good wife might pursue. She must remain true to her vow in the energetic language of *Dido*, and with more enduring constancy :

Ille meos, primus qui me sibi junxit, amores  
Abstulit: ille habeat secum, servetque sepulcro.

But even under this crushing despotism woman vindicated her natural rights. Females, we are told, can keep not only fools, but also the wise in subjection. A wise man, therefore, must never be unguarded in the presence of the sex. The distinction laid down between the frailties of man and those of women would at first seem almost unparalleled. The Brahman, on the decease of his wife, may marry again, and while alive, though devoid of good qualities and even enamoured of other women, must be revered "as a god" by his patient, uncomplaining, wife. But we know too well how these and similar distinctions are maintained in very different states of society. How unequal is the sentence pronounced by *the world* on the conduct of the faithless wife and of the unfaithful husband! How unjust that verdict which excludes the one irrevocably from the circle of social intercourse, and exalts

the other, even whilst it seems to disapprove! How different the feelings with which most fathers of families would look on the unchaste daughter and the unchaste son! It surely cannot be without the province of the writer to remark on the conventionalities and allowances by which the world has contrived to fritter away the divine law. Whilst we reflect with pleasure on the higher standard by which most of our social and domestic relations are tested, we must also confess that we have too often substituted the forgery of the world for the stamp of Heaven's mint.

We have thus lightly sketched the principal features of Hindu society, relative to the king and his duties, the nature and objects of punishment, the sources of revenue, and the respect paid to women. But several points on the code remain to be noticed. The whole of India was subdivided into at least half a dozen sovereignties, to each and all of which Manu's laws were applicable. Precepts and examples of former monarchs are appealed to, but it is remarkable that we have nothing drawn from the authority of the great heroes of the Mahabharat. Neither Pandun or Kuru is named. There is no allusion to the sacrifice of Yudhistira in proof of universal sway, to the weighty mace of Bhima, or the unerring bow of Arjuna. And yet kings and holy sages are quoted in every book. One sage is mentioned to justify the slaughter even of cows in time of famine: another to legalise the eating of human flesh in similar difficulties. Some are quoted to show that women, if united to highborn men, may attain great honour: some to prove that oaths may lawfully be sworn in court. Mention is made of one king, Vena, who attempted to abolish the barriers of caste, and partially succeeded to the horror of Brahmans, and the approbation of philanthropists, and here and there we have an allusion to a name familiar to the readers of the Mahabharat, but still no appeal to any of its prominent characters or to those of the Ramayan. Bharadwaja is mentioned by Manu as a great sage, and the Mahabharat tells us that he dwelt at "Ganga's gate," the modern Hurdwar, "highly to be revered and firm to his vow." The absence of the Mahabharat heroes as remarked above, is the more astonishing when we recollect how apposite were their examples to reprove or instruct. How well under their great precedents could the law-giver have enforced the beauty of kingly or womanly virtues! How might the loving Sakontala been quoted as a pattern of motherly affection or matronly pride! How well could the national vice of gaming been condemned by the adventures of Nala and his partner, or

by the banishment of the Pandus themselves ! How would the evil king have trembled at the name and fate of Duryodhana ! how could the reward of disinterested virtue be more effectually held up to admiration than in the story of Yudhistira's trials and final beatitude !

We are well aware that the vagueness of Hindu Chronology, and the difficulty of assigning a certain date to king and sage, preclude us from building any reasonable hypothesis on the above remark. But still the absence of any references to the great war of the Kurus and Pandus, or to the expedition of Rama, is worthy of notice, and has not, so far as we are aware, been taken up by any of the great orientalists. The great war is said to have taken place fifteen hundred years B. C., and as regards the probable time of Manu, we have availed ourselves of the satisfactory reasoning of Elphinstone, who places him about nine hundred B. C. or almost co-temporary with Homer and Hesiod. Sir William Jones, whilst plunged in an inextricable labyrinth of lunar and solar dynasties and Manwantaras, also concludes that the laws of Manu could not have received their present form more than three thousand years ago. The difference then between his estimate and that of Elphinstone, will not be more than some three centuries—a very slight disagreement when we consider the length of the period computed, and the difficulty of elucidating any thing satisfactory from the puerilities of Hindu dates. But whether we abide by Jones or Elphinstone, we must claim for Manu's society some of the advantages of civilized life, and the exact characteristics of modern Bengal now. We have allusions to roads and carriages, to inundations and travelling by boats in the rains, mention of regular ferry boats and ghats, of rice and of *Indigo*, rules for the regulation of market prices and bazar customs and a careful enumeration of the divisions of inheritance, and in fact the whole department of Civil Law.

Although we do not intend to go far into the questions of subdivision in property, yet we will state briefly the eighteen titles under which cases were tried in Court. 1. Debt on loans. 2. Deposits. 3. Sale without ownership. 4. Partnership. 5. Subtraction of what has been given. 6. Non-payment of wages. 7. Non-performance of contract. 8. Purchase and sale. 9. Disputes between master and servant. 10. Disputes about boundaries. 11. Assault. 12. Abusive language. 13. Theft. 14. Robbery. 15. Adultery. 16. The duties of man and wife. 17. Inheritance. 18. Gaming. It will be seen by this that Criminal and Civil law are unaccountably mixed up. Of the eighteen heads, the

eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth are clearly criminal in every age and code. But in India such is the necessity for summary proceedings that other heads at the present day have been put under the cognizance of the criminal authorities, either in accordance with the Mahomedan law, or by British foresight. By the former, adultery may be punished criminally, provided the injured husband consent to be prosecutor: any contest for boundaries, great or small, may be determined by the invaluable Act IV. of 1840, and the non-payment of wages or hire, or the non-performance of contract, up to a certain limit, and indeed most of the dealings between master and servant find a speedy solution under the excellent Regulation known as VII. of 1819. It cannot be without our province to notice resemblances such as the above, the effect of a state of society where the most opposite and irreconcilable features are intermingled.

We have before remarked on the nature and mode of punishment when treating of the divisions of the country, and the executive power of kings. The following cursory view of the courts will but serve to illustrate our general picture. The king might decide a few causes himself, probably under the large village tree, like the Deborah of ancient writ, or the Velleda of the Germans. But as he cannot inspect every thing himself, three Brahmans with a fourth, "very learned in the Vedas," are appointed by him to form a court or assembly of Brahma. The most frequent cases seem to be those of debt or ownership, and as usual in eastern countries several classes of persons are excluded from giving evidence at all. Relationship, enmity, conviction of crime, disease, childhood, age, deep learning, seclusion from the world, insanity, intoxication, and violent passions, disqualify a witness from the first. But this stringency is relaxed on failure of legal evidence. Women may be witnesses for women, and the testimony of old and young, and of those excluded as interested parties, may be taken, *quantum valeat*, in almost any case. License is not even granted to the prejudice which natives of the better sort entertain to this day against appearing in court. Nay! the appearance of wise and good men is even commanded. By great Rishis or sages, we are told, and even by doties themselves have judicial oaths been taken, and Vasishtha when accused by Viswamitra "of eating a hundred sons," (so says the commentary of Kalluka) took an oath before king Sudaman to clear himself of the accusation. The rites of ordeal were also allowed. The criminal might hold blazing fire, or dive under water for a prolonged



period, or touch the heads of his wife and children : and if fire would not burn or water drown, or no speedy calamity ensued to his family—he was declared free from taint. Generally speaking all the classes seem to give evidence without exemption even to the favoured race. A Brahman is adjured by his veracity, a Kshetriya by his chariot or horse, and by his weapons, a Vaisya by his cow, his corn, and his money, and a Sudra *by all his sins*.

Considering the prevalence of perjury in India now, we are naturally anxious to know how it was looked upon by the law-giver. Here we are fortunately aided by a full and complete enunciation from which two opposite conclusions may be drawn. Our readers shall decide which seems most based on probability. At first there is no license held out to the slightest deviation from truth. All the powers of oratory are summoned to deter the witness from the least admission of falsehood. All the horrors of future transmigrations into the vilest creatures, all the calamities of disease, hunger, and wretchedness, all the pains of a miserable existence in this life and of avenging torments in the next, are hurled at the head of the perjured witness. On the other hand exalted fame in this world, and happiness in a future, reverente even from Brahma himself and the approving glances of those shadowy spirits who haunt the winds, the waters, and the firmament, are promised to the man who shall speak the truth. He who is not at variance with Yama, the judge of departed souls, with Vairavaswata, the punishing Deity, or with that incomprehensible genius who resides in the heart, has no need of expiation on the plains of Kuru or by the waters of Ganga. He who offends the internal soul, “man’s best witness,” loses the fruit of every good act, is punished with the torture reserved for child-murder and the slaughter of Brahmans, destroys the lives of those nearest and dearest to him, and descends himself to the lowest depths of Naraka. But in the very teeth of these awful outpourings of offended justice, side by side, as it were, with these terrible sentences of retribution, we have that conventional morality which Manu seems to have conceded to the hardness of the times. Still further we have numbers of those allusions, which from their very nature and spontaneousness seem to us more convincing than the deliberate reproof of Law. A man speaking falsely from a motive of Dharma in some cases, shall not be excluded from Swarga. “Such evidence is termed the speech of the Gods!!!” It is but fair to state, that this permission seems based on a feeling of tenderness to all life rather than in the preservation of a Brah-

man. Where truth would procure the death of any one of the four classes—and here, be it remarked, they are mentioned in inverted order, the Sudra first and the Brahman last—falsehood must be spoken, and it is even praised. We leave our readers to imagine the frequency with which this permission was both used and abused. But this is not the sole evidence of depravity in judicial proceedings. We have mention of plaintiffs who vary from their statements, who deny what they had just before admitted, disclaim the very witnesses they have summoned, or converse with and instruct them out of Court: who refuse to answer when questioned, or who leave the Court without finishing the case. We have specific amercements for witnesses who meet with any calamity within seven days after giving evidence, rules for guidance in cases of contradictory testimony, allusions to the *suppressio veri*, and precautions for the reversal of judgment when false evidence shall be afterwards proved. The contemplation of the above passages, which we have brought together out of the eighth book, has led some orientalists to conclude that perjury was much less prevalent in former times than it is now: and an historian as distinguished and unprejudiced as Elphinstone seems to hint that he acquiesces in this opinion.\* But with the utmost respect for such an authority, the inference we draw is exactly the reverse. The high price set on truth is surely a proof of its rarity. On the other hand History, and especially the History of Laws in every age and country teaches us but too well how ineffectual is immoderate stringency to check crimes of every day occurrence, and yet how certain it is that heavy punishments are never denounced but when the offence is frequent. Were forgery or sheep-stealing less common in England when punished capitally? Was the offence of breaking machinery in the manufacturing districts put down by the sentence for whose abolition excellent Romilly so earnestly strove? Has perjury ceased altogether in our native courts, has it been one whit less prevalent, in the teeth of the regulation which visits it with nine years' imprisonment? We need hardly multiply examples or search any further the codes of ancient or modern

\* Vol. I. p. 60. Elphinstone says—"From these passages it has been assumed that the Hindu law gives a direct sanction to perjury, and to this has been ascribed the prevalence of false evidence which is common to men of all religions in India: yet there is more space (the italics are ours) devoted in this code to the prohibition of false evidence than to that of any other crime, and the offence is denounced in terms as awful as has ever been applied to it in any European treatise either of religion or of law." How different are Manu's thunders to the simple "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour" of the Jewish Law!

law. Manu's tremendous judgments and his lax morality, his energetic hatred of the crime, and his multiplied allusions to its frequency, seem to us the outpourings of a mind naturally elevated but yielding to the pressure of a vicious state of society. The law-giver endeavoured to deter by the awfulness of his sentence, but felt all the time the emptiness of his efforts. There is no one more remarkable feature in the length and breadth of the code than this painful hankering after the ideal good in the midst of vileness and degradation.

It has seemed to us unnecessary to go into the rules of inheritance, or the particular arrangements between man and wife. The code, it may be observed, is still the basis of Hindu law on the former intricate question. The wife still retains her *stridhan* under its authority, and the childless father adopts, but the five great schools (Bengal, Mithila, or north Behar, Benares, the Mahratta, and the Dravira, or south of the Peninsula,) have established their own readings, and the admitted excellence of the original has been spun out under the pretence of improvement into endless modifications.

We have given our deliberate opinion of the degradation of Manu's society, and it would therefore be unjust not to give a picture of the morality which the law-giver would fain have established. It is more quiescent than active: it would rather have all sentient beings free from pain, than behold a few individuals engaged in a course of benevolence to others. But there is no lowering of the standard of conscience to the pure and learned Brahman: the *चतुर्भुजः*, or "four-cornered" man, whose vision was ever floating before the eyes of the sage. Repentance lies not in fanciful meditation but in abstinence from sin: the highest praise is not worldly honour or attendance on the king, but devotion joined with knowledge of the Vedas. There are no traces in the code of that struggle for supremacy between the Brahmanical and military orders, in which tradition gives the victory to the former. The king, though bound to promote the happiness of Brahmans, is invested with all the awful attributes which religion can bestow. In wielding the executive power he can do no wrong. The Brahman may wait in his council chamber and instruct the youthful sovereign in the science of politics, but his eternal or even worldly honour sinks far beneath the reward held out to the austere scholar. For him a radiant body and an ethereal form are prepared; but for this, while on earth, all that tempt the eye, or offend the ear, or inflame the senses, must be carefully

shunned. He must know his own happiness, and his own sorrow: he is born alone: he lives alone, and like the conscientious Pascal alone he dies.\* He must honour his father and his mother: the hand of liberality to the meanest mortal must never be stayed, but a large company at a sacrificial supper is no evidence of genuine holiness: all vain fancies and undignified exertions are banished: agreeable falsehood and disagreeable truths must not be uttered, and in an almost christian spirit, he must refrain from what is lawful, *should it be offensive to others*. Here and there the reasons for moral conduct are given, and they are such as, we will be bound, could only occur to the perverted ingenuity of a Brahman. The vice of intoxication must be avoided—not because it is repugnant to morality or to natural propriety, not because it is degrading and loathsome, not because while intoxicated a man may unwittingly commit crime—but because without the full possession of his senses a Brahman may chance *to tread on something very impure!* These however are exceptions, and due praise must be awarded to the scrupulous fear with which all temptation must be shunned. Those of our readers who have looked on one of the contemptible native exhibitions, termed *nautehes*, may readily understand why the young Brahman must shut his ears against the twang of musical instruments and avert his eyes from the wretched beings who move about in the mis-called dance.

There are two great dangers into which men are apt to fall in estimating any one new branch of study, especially the study of Oriental literature. It is perhaps necessary to add that the first is an undue reverence which bows obsequiously before eastern impurities and violations of good taste, the second an equally undue contempt for all that Hindu or Mussulman antiquities can present. Those who fall into the first error busy themselves in discovering beauties in their author which never existed: discern civilization in the midst of barbarism and elegance in grossness, and realize the fiction

\* It is curious to compare Pascal's heartfelt and bitter exclamation! *Je mourrai seul*, and Keble's elegant versification of the above sentiment with the Hindu sage, Keble says—

“Why should we faint and fear to live alone  
Since all alone, so Heaven has will'd, we die.  
Not even the tenderest heart, and next our own  
Knows half the reasons why we smile or sigh.”

Manu (Book IV. Sloke 240) has—“a sentient being is born alone: *alone he dies*. alone he enjoys what has been well done by himself: alone what has been sinfully done.”

of the golden age in the chaotic elements of rude primæval society. There is no repressing the enthusiasm of these gentlemen. Like Puff, they would fix the temple of Hygeia in the very Fens of Lincolnshire, and, it must be owned, that we look on them with something of the feeling with which Hector McIntyre saw his uncle accord a gift to the old woman who had asked for it in genuine Teutonic. Those who fall into the second mistake, might be very worthy of pardon in England, but we are not so sure that they may be exempt from censure in India. Nothing that we have written is intended to foster a disregard for oriental antiquities of real value, or to deter the gifted scholar from giving to the world his explorings in caves, or medals, or manuscripts. Nay, we acknowledge ourselves under a debt to those who put before us without undue partiality their just conclusions in an available shape. But the voice of caution must not be withheld. We are not to waste time about frivolities which interest none but their founders, or ceremonies never performed at all, or performed only by a select few. We must set his exact worth on the Hindu, and we do not deny him a considerable advance in some departments of poetry. He excels in tender feeling and in delineating the softer passions. He is skilful in partial grouping and in detail, but he is wanting in freedom and manliness or in grand results. This estimate of his poetry, which *the best* orientalists have allowed just is equally applicable to that civilization whence it sprung. A number of intricate rules were promulgated for individuals. Individuals disregarded them, and there was nothing to secure the general happiness of society. In detail Manu's society was perfect, but in system it was wanting. It overlooked great and glaring wrongs in the moral and political landscape to snatch at atomic specks. It created difficulties for the purpose of overcoming them. It aimed at what was almost incomprehensible even in theory, while it neglected many deficiencies very capable of practical amelioration. The conclusion at which every impartial reader of Manu must arrive is that he reads a set of laws and moral rules applicable to a very mixed state of society, where evil influences preponderate, the whole compiled by a mind of the genuine Hindu cast,—with all its characteristic failings, but still endowed with much that is excellent, and retaining the glimpses of light which those might retain who travelled eastward after the great confusion of tongues.

Our views are, we are aware, incapable of mathematical proof, but equally so are the estimates of those who see

nothing but order and moral beauty in Manu. And the whole experience of History, the deliberate reasonings of those who bring disunited and seemingly incongruous facts to converge on one ultimate object, are, we submit, on our side. If we do believe that of two standards, the one rigid and the other lax, mankind are naturally wont to choose the former: that with manifold concessions to the rugged harshness of the times, society will persist in wilfully following a severe and unbending rule: that, in short, the heavy burden is voluntarily sustained when the light and easy may be borne—we forfeit History's most valuable lessons and solemn warnings, and at this rate from Juvenal's sixth satire may deduce a perfect picture of moral loveliness and truth.

In our estimate of Manu not only is there nothing which militates against general History, but also nothing at all incompatible with Hindu History itself. For the whole scope and aim of the Brahmanical laws, begin with, centre and end in the Hindu. All external influences are carefully excluded, and the elements of society must be sought for only from within. One great example of a nation thus wrapped up in itself is already at hand in the Chinese: another as certainly presents itself in the Hindu. Both from different motives avoided intercourse with other nations: both suffered innovations from the Tartar and the Mussulman, and both have lasted for some three thousand years as little changed from their original condition as is well possible in the nature of things. As the Hindu is now, so was he in the days of Manu: with more, perhaps, of intellectual power *then*, but ever wasting it on unworthy objects: mistaking subtlety for grasp of mind and the sensual for beauty. Considerable intellectual power in individuals is not incompatible with a lawless and unfixed state of society. The poet or the logician might rest under the patronage of his Raja and give lustre to the palaces of Ujayina or Kanubjya, while the country all around was barbarous and ill-governed. While we maintain that the Hindu was never more civilized—taking civilization in its most extended views—never one whit more pure in morality or more elevated in his national aims than now, we admit that his intellectual powers have undergone considerable deterioration. We shall hardly be required to prove the latter part of our assertion which is sufficiently attested by the original works in the great ocean of Sanskrit literature, and the present absence of all originality or invention. For the former we are content to be judged by what we have written, and

by those readers who will give the Institutes a deliberate perusal.

We can judge from states of society nearer home and connected with our own daily experience, how fatal is the distinction between principles and practice. Where principles are avowedly lowered, will the practice of men rise high, when we see it descend even where principles are lofty? from the experience of eighteen hundred years the Christian historian knows but too well how vast is the distinction between the society in which he moves, and that which its Divine Founder would have established on earth. He knows, even whilst rejoicing in the social benefits of Christianity, how far we are yet from that mysterious union between Church and State, when "the kingdoms of the earth shall become the kingdoms of the Lord."

We must now take our leave of the Code, with the simple assurance to our readers that we have made no one single deduction which is not based on the plain unaltered text. The allusions moreover have been mostly taken from those passages where the meaning was incapable of bearing two constructions. Here and there we allow it, a prohibition in strong language has been taken as evidence that the thing prohibited was in existence. Our deductions may be wrong, but the premises have been carefully surveyed. We have striven to do justice, as far as lay in our power, to this, in some parts, the most worthless, in others, the most precious, monument of all Hindu antiquity.

But the above considerations lead us by no unnatural transition to the contemplation of the native of Bengal as he is to-day. With a Code like the above combining much that is passively good, with much more that is actively vile: with a system of duties carefully guarded against all innovations: with a society in which stagnation is lauded and advancement condemned: with all the worst elements of Toryism deep fixed in his temperament, the Hindu has come down to us, slowly deteriorating, and as a race worn out and spent: incapable of revivification from any principles within and as yet comparatively insensible to the few impressions tendered from without. What quickening power, unless sound Education may avail us, shall ever present the Bengali with something of that purity and manliness which he vainly imagines himself to have lost?

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ART. V.—1. *Corrected Report of the Debate in the House of Commons, in June 1845, on the State of New Zealand. London, 1845.*

2. *Papers relative to the affairs of New Zealand: correspondence with Lieutenant Governor Grey in 1845-46. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Her Majesty's command, 1846.*

3. *New Zealand Journal; Extra Number. London, May 1846.*

4. *Recent Correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and the Directors of the New Zealand Company. London, June, 1846.*

5. *Observations on the climate of New Zealand, by William. Swainson, Esq. London, 1840.*

6. *New Zealand and the New Zealanders. By Ernest Dieffenbach, M. D., Naturalist to the New Zealand Company. London, 1841.*

7. *Scheme of the Colony of the Free Church of Scotland at Otago in New Zealand. Glasgow, 1845.*

8. *Documents relating to the site of the Scotch Settlement in New Zealand, 1845.*

9. *Arrangements for the Establishment of the Settlement at Otago, 1846.*

10. *A letter from Captain Cargill to Dr. Aldcorn, on the Free Church Colony at Otago, 1847.*

11. *First Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company. London, May, 1840.*

12. *Letters from Settlers and Labouring Emigrants in New Zealand. London, 1843.*

13. *Information relative to New Zealand, compiled for the use of Colonists. By John Ward, Esq. Fourth edition. London, 1845.*

14. *Twenty-second Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company. May, 1847.*

It is impossible to contemplate the subject of Colonization, which affects so many vital interests of the empire, or feel astonishment that its thorough examination should so long have been postponed in an age when our constitutional principles and policy have been scrutinized in almost all other depart-



ments of Government. To open up, or gradually create, new markets for our home manufactures—developing new sources of supply for the raw materials; to provide that large and increasing class of our population which finds suitable support in the mother-country difficult or impossible, with a home where honest industry may ensure its fair reward under the protection of British Law; to augment the authority and to guard the interests of Britain and the British name, and as it were, to diffuse over the whole earth, the benignant influence of her language, her science, her arts, and above all of her free civil and religious institutions—these are the direct objects which the British Statesman has had to contemplate when legislating for her wide-spread colonies.

Yet, how lamentably has our Legislation ever failed, as by a fatality or fatuity, in attaining any one of those great ends! It must be admitted as a melancholy fact, that with all our boast about an “empire upon which the sun never sets”—we have not even yet one single colony *sufficiently* attractive to emigrants. Though impelled from home by narrow or fast-failing income, and though possessing in his own nature no small love of enterprize and adventure—the would-be British emigrant may look anxiously around the globe, and eyeing every distant colony where flies the banner of his country—from the Canadas round to the furthest Pacific,—see but a hard and sorry choice of ills before him, attractive only to one who is already on the eve of still greater trials if he remain where he is. The British emigrant and his family are necessarily a mournful, sad-spirited group of unwilling exiles; or if they are ever otherwise, it is a moral certainty that they are so, because they are the dupes of some false hopes, or the victims of some atrociously fraudulent scheme certain to hurl them ere long into ruin and despair.

But before we go further, we would beg in a few words to justify ourselves for touching on this theme at all. Intending, as we do, to limit our consideration of it at present, to its connection with New Zealand,—and that with a special practical reference of it to our countrymen in India—we trust the perfect suitability of the subject to our pages will appear; and if we can but engage our reader’s attention through some introductory paragraphs of necessary explanation, we shall hope to reward his toil by then presenting some views and facts which may be new to him, and may possibly affect deeply and directly even his future plans of life for himself and for his family.

If it may be said that no department of British Government

has been so grievously mismanaged for some ages back as the Colonial—it may also be said, and with still greater confidence in the truth of the assertion, that of all our ill-governed colonies, New Zealand has been the very worst.

But a new era at length dawns on those scenes; and as the art of ruining a colony had been displayed here in its utmost conceivable force, short of a catastrophe—so it happens, that these beautiful islands are now the first fair field in which a reformed system is about to be applied.

The New Zealand Company is probably known by name to all our readers. It is an institution bearing a Royal Charter, and combining in its managerial and proprietary bodies a larger amount of influence, (using that term in reference to high personal character, wealth, rank and talent,) than perhaps any other joint-stock Company in the empire. No less than twelve out of its twenty-four Directors, are distinguished Members of Parliament; and the list includes also a number of names of men who hold the very foremost rank in the foremost commercial city in the world. The history of this remarkable Company since its formation, is identical with that of the Colony.

The object for which the Company was established, is stated as follows in the first Prospectus which it published, in May 1839. “The purchase and improvement of waste land in New Zealand has been already carried on to a great extent, and with much advantage by missionaries and others who have settled in the country, as well as by persons residing in the adjacent Australian Colonies; and such an operation upon an enlarged scale is the proposed object of the New Zealand Company. The attention and business of the Company will be confined to the purchase of tracts of land—the promotion of emigration to those tracts, directly from the United Kingdom—the laying out of settlements and towns in the most favorable situations—and the gradual re-sale of such lands according to the value bestowed on them by emigration and settlement.”

Such being the general design of the Company on its formation—the full protection of Government, and in many respects its co-operation, were obviously indispensable. Not only would proposing settlers require assurance of present safety for their lives and property under British Government well administered in the colony, but also assurance of an unimpeachable permanent title to the land which they were about to buy and cultivate.

The whole argument as to the abstract territorial rights of

the Savage *versus* the Civilized Man—mystified as it has been, to an inconceivable degree, by the selfish doings and contending interests of ages—came on this occasion once more into earnest public discussion. And well was it disposed of by Mr. Charles Buller in his admirable speech in the House of Commons on the New Zealand Debate of 1845. We must quote this striking passage in full, long as it is:—

“ But it is said that it was *their* country, and that *we* had no business to take possession of any part of it. Of the race which I have thus described, there appear not to exist in the whole extent of New Zealand, more, if so many as 100,000 individuals. There is one little island which may be regarded as uninhabited. The middle island, far the largest of the three, we may call uninhabited also, as *its inhabitants are supposed not to amount to 1,500, in an extent as large as England and the Lowlands of Scotland*. In the southern half of the Northern Island there are 10,000 inhabitants. Almost the entire native population is to be found in the northern half of the Northern Island. It is preposterous to expect that the existence of such a population on portions of the soil of a vast country, ought to exclude the rest of mankind from turning the unoccupied soil to account. God gave the earth to man to use—not to particular races, *to prevent all other men from using*. (Hear.) He planted the principle of increase in us; he limited our existence in no particular soil or climate, but gave us the power of ranging over the wide earth; and I know no principle of reason, no precept of revelation, that gives the inhabitants of one valley in New Zealand a right to appropriate a neighbouring unoccupied valley, in preference to the Englishman, who cannot find the means of subsistence at home. I apply to the savage no principle which I should not apply to the most civilized people in the world. If by any *unimaginable* calamity the population of France, for instance, were reduced from the 35,000,000, which it now maintains, to 200,000, which is about the proportion of New Zealand, and if these 200,000 were almost limited to Brittany and Normandy, and cultivated, as the New Zealanders do, no more than one acre in a thousand, do you think we should allow this handful of men to devote that fine country to perpetual barrenness? (Cheers.) Do you think that every neighbouring nation would not deem itself justified in pouring out its destitute myriads to obtain their food from the soil on which weeds and wolves would otherwise subsist alone? It seems to me wicked to dispute the right of man to cultivate the wilderness! (Hear.) Justice demands, no doubt, that if

‘ civilized man, when thus seeking new fields for his labor, be  
 ‘ brought in contact with a rude and weaker race, he is bound  
 ‘ to treat his new neighbour with the utmost fairness and kind-  
 ‘ ness. Nay more—not merely are we bound not to deprive him  
 ‘ of any actual possession which he enjoys, but justice requires  
 ‘ that we should do our best to prevent his being thrown into a  
 ‘ position of relative inferiority, and to ensure an improvement in  
 ‘ his condition corresponding with the general improvement of his  
 ‘ country.”

(We cannot refrain from pausing here for one moment in passing, and putting it to our readers whether a purer or more exalted principle of Government was ever propounded in the British Senate than that which we have just quoted.)

“ I know not how, in this respect, we can lay down any  
 ‘ better principles than those always recognized, and almost  
 ‘ always acted on by our ancestors. They never pretended  
 ‘ to assert a right of depriving the Indian of his possessions.  
 ‘ The principle of our law, in conformity with the general  
 ‘ law of nations, was, that in settling among savages, it was  
 ‘ not our duty to recognise in them any rights of which they  
 ‘ themselves had no conception, or to create for them some  
 ‘ fiction of right analogous to the proprietary rights of modern  
 ‘ Europe. The rule laid down by Vattel, by all writers on  
 ‘ the law of nations, and by our own lawyers, is, that in deal-  
 ‘ ing with the savage, who possesses no notion of individual  
 ‘ property in land, or a power of alienating it, it is sufficient  
 ‘ to recognise his right to that which he actually uses, and  
 ‘ no more. The same writers have always maintained that  
 ‘ the civilized man had a right to limit the Indian in his waste-  
 ‘ ful use of large tracts for the chasp. In New Zealand, how-  
 ‘ ever, no such difficulty occurred: the savage did not hunt;  
 ‘ his occupations of land were as definite as any European  
 ‘ fields; they consisted of the ground which he had actually  
 ‘ cleared. If you left him this, what injury did you do him  
 ‘ by occupying the unoccupied remainder? (Hear). You took  
 ‘ from him nothing which any lawyer, or any moralist, ever re-  
 ‘ garded as his property. The payments which were made to  
 ‘ him were not the price of land; they were payments to secure  
 ‘ his consent to our settling quietly in his neighbourhood.

“ The real evil which you have to guard against, when  
 ‘ you introduce a large body of European settlers into the  
 ‘ immediate neighbourhood of an uncivilized race is, not the  
 ‘ taking the soil which the latter did not use, but the change  
 ‘ which you effect by bringing them into contact with a strong-  
 ‘ er race. Against the ill-consequences of such a change we

‘ were no doubt bound to provide the savage with most sufficient guarantees and ample compensation. But compensation for what? Not for land, which was not his, but for the position of inferiority to which your very vicinity of itself tends to reduce him. And what species of compensation can you give him? Is it money? Translate money into the articles which money will enable the savage to acquire—into rum and tobacco, muskets, and gunpowder—and I think that every man of real philanthropy will agree that the greater the amount which you confer, the greater the injury which you inflict on the object of your mistaken bounty. (Cheers.) ‘ Be as lavish,’ said the New Zealand Company, in one of their letters to Lord Stanley, ‘ Be as lavish as you please of the ordinary materials of European barter: give clothing, arms, ammunition, tools and tobacco, and what beyond the consumption of the day can you really give, of value to the man whom you do not find possessed of, and cannot at once endow with, a gift of foresight? Give more and you only waste the surplus. And when the blanket is worn out, the second-rate finery turned to rags, the gun burst, the ammunition expended, the tool broken, and the drug has produced its hour of intoxication—at the end of a year or two, or even ten, what better is the wild man for your gift? At the end of the period of enjoyment, he and his race are beggars, amid the wealth that has grown out of their possessions; doomed, after a brief period of toil for the intruder, and of humiliation in his presence, to disappear from the land over which they once reigned undisputed masters.”—(Hear, hear.)

“ I go on to read from the same letter, the description of the provision which the New Zealand Company made for the Natives:—

“ ‘ It was to guard, as much as human care can guard, against such a result, that the New Zealand Company invented the plan of Native Reserves. To recompense at the moment, and comply with the exigencies of opinion, they paid down what, according to received notions, was a sufficient price. But the real worth of the land they thought they gave, only *when they reserved, as a perpetual possession for the Native*, a portion equal to one-tenth of the lands which they had purchased from him. This was a price which he could not squander away at the moment, but of which, as time passed on, the inalienable value must continually and immensely increase for his benefit and that of his children. Heir of a patrimony so large, the native

“ ‘chief, instead of contemplating European neighbours with  
 “ ‘jealous apprehension, as a race destined to degrade and  
 “ ‘oust him, would learn to view with delight, the presence,  
 “ ‘the industry, and the prosperity of those who, in labouring  
 “ ‘for themselves, could not but create an estate to be enjoyed  
 “ ‘by him without toil or risk. Nor was this design confined  
 “ ‘to barren speculation. *In every settlement which we have*  
 “ ‘*formed, a portion equal to one-tenth of town, as well as rural*  
 “ ‘*allotments, has always been reserved for the natives ; in the*  
 “ ‘lottery by which the right of selection was determined, the  
 “ ‘Natives had their fair chance, and obtained their proportion  
 “ ‘of the best numbers ; and in the plans of Wellington,  
 “ ‘Nelson, and New Plymouth, your Lordship may see the due  
 “ ‘number of sections, including some of the very best in  
 “ ‘each, marked out as Native Reserves. Nor is this, even  
 “ ‘now, a valueless or contingent estate. At the most mode-  
 “ ‘rate average, according to the present rate of prices, the  
 “ ‘hundred acres of Native Reserves in the town of Well-  
 “ ‘ton alone would fetch no less than £ 20,000.’ This, Sir, is  
 “ ‘my answer to all the calumnies that have been thrown out  
 “ ‘against the New Zealand Company, as being desirous of  
 “ ‘cheating and ill-using the native. (Hear, hear.) We de-  
 “ ‘vised, and, while permitted, faithfully carried into effect, a  
 “ ‘plan evincing more forethought and real humanity than ever  
 “ ‘had been adopted before. The Select Committee of last Ses-  
 “ ‘sion honored it with their approbation ; and I rely upon  
 “ ‘finding their decision ratified by the judgment of all men  
 “ ‘whose philanthropy is not an idle cant.—(Hear, hear, hear.)  
 “ ‘Malign us—destroy us if you will—you cannot deprive us of  
 “ ‘this undeniable claim to the merit of having devised the best  
 “ ‘and wisest plan ever yet conceived for the benefit of the  
 “ ‘aboriginal races among which our colonization is established.  
 “ ‘(Hear, hear, hear.)’

All honor to Richard Cobden as the Corn-Law Emancipator !  
 But equal honor, too, be to Charles Buller, as the real Reformer  
 of our Colonial System ! His triumph, indeed, as also his  
 struggle (with worthy colleagues) for years previously, has been  
 far less observed publicly ; but the issue is—seminally—no less  
 decisive or beneficial. Among the steadfast, enlightened and  
 disinterested advocates of Colonial Reform—the name of  
 Charles Buller stands out pre-eminent during years past ; and  
 it will be associated in future history with the victory at length  
 achieved by the high principles of which he has been the pow-  
 erful and persevering defender in the Senate—as certainly as

will the name of Cobden be indented with Repeal of the Corn-Laws.

The views of the successive colonial ministers of the crown, and of the able and energetic men who managed the affairs of the New Zealand Company, were as yet, however, at irreconcilable variance. But "truth is great." These enlightened managers have at length approved themselves, not only to Government, though so long hostile to their views, but to the nation and the world at large—as the solvers of a problem,\* one of the most difficult that could present itself to the view of a Patriotic Statesman. Never perhaps was any political enigma more thoroughly investigated, than the whole subject of *Colonization* has been by those men who have had the chief direction of this New Zealand Company. After much study of what they have done and spoken and written during eight years past, we feel it difficult to say whether we ought most to honor them for the surpassing wisdom and largeness of their economical views—their skill, caution, vigilance, and indomitable perseverance in planning and executing their scheme in all its details, in spite of inconceivable obstacles—or the patient sagacity which awaited the maturity of the crisis, and then the calm and temperate courage with which they faced the alternative (supposed to be insurmountable, by the Government which had forced it upon them,) and deliberately and unanimously put an end to their own existence as a corporate body. On the 29th of May 1846, Directors and Proprietors met in the city of London, and with one voice, representing the interests of upwards of twelve thousand emigrants of our country, and an amount of property estimated at about six millions sterling\* solemnly voted a surrender of their royal charter with all its immunities—and laid down their claims and liabilities together, at the door of the State *which had guaranteed and which had betrayed them!* One sole clause in this memorable Resolution, left a wicket-door of reconciliation with Government yet open; the Session indeed was drawing fast to a close, but the act of dissolution was allowed to be contingent on the event (unhoped-for, however,) of a Bill being brought into Parliament, even at this eleventh hour—for assured repair of all the grievances complained of.

Never was a bold and honest measure, the dictate almost of despair, so extraordinarily triumphant. Sir Robert Peel's mi-

\* Vide petition of the New Zealand colonists, presented to the House of Commons by Viscount Howick, July 1845.

nistry was then itself *in articulo mortis*. Who may explain the mysterious connection which is suggested by the coincidence of that fact with the instant change which now took place in his ministerial policy towards the New Zealand Company! Explain it who can—the fact is there:—a new light now bursts upon Sir Robert! It was little indeed he could do; but, to do him justice, he did his best. It was too late for him now to introduce a bill embodying the new views of colonial policy which he avowed. But he took an immediate opportunity after receipt of the astounding communication of the New Zealand Company's Act of Dissolution, from his place, to "explain" the present position of the Government in its relations with that body, interspersing his feeble vindication of the former for past delays, contradictions, trickeries, and direct opposition, with many and large admissions of error and impolicy; acknowledging now, that the demands of the Company on the Government were no more than just and reasonable; that he considered their Agency in the colonization of New Zealand to be invaluable, if not indispensable to the State; and that their general views as to the system which should now be pursued towards this all but ruined Colony in particular, were such as he would himself adopt and act, on immediately were he remaining in office.

Mr. Gladstone left a Minute behind him in the Colonial Office, for the use of his successor, embodying these deliberate views of the expiring ministry. Earl Grey succeeded Mr. Gladstone; and Mr. Charles Buller, one of the leading managers of the New Zealand Company, was invited to a sinecure seat in the cabinet for the sole and avowed purpose of giving the noble Lord, whose general views of Colonial policy were one with his own, the full benefit of his talents and experience in the great work of Reform which was now to be entered on!

The suicidal Resolution of the New Zealand Company was at once annulled. The Company arose as from its ashes. In a few weeks an Act of Parliament was passed—now known by the name of the New Zealand Act—which, though open to some very grave objections, and no doubt destined to undergo great modifications ere long, marks the effectual commencement of a new era in the Colonial History of our empire, as *establishing* the great right of local self-government by Municipal Charters in townships, and by Representation in Provincial Assemblies.\* From the twenty-

\* Thereader must not understand the free *municipal institutions* alluded to in the text, and in which the chief value of the new order of things is supposed, justly, to



eight day of August 1846, when this Act was passed, may be dated the virtual downfall of the detestable system of

reside—as limited in their nature, to the guardianship of petty local civic interests, the mere lamp-lighting and drain-clearing of towns and villages. Let Sir Robert Peel explain in his own words, his large apprehension of the term *municipal* as applied to this organic change in our colonial system—and as the Legislature has since adopted and embodied it:—

“ With respect to the future government of this colony, I must say, that looking at the distance at which it is removed from the seat of government at home, and considering the great difficulty of issuing orders for its government in this country, I am for one strongly inclined to think that a Representative Government is suited for the condition of the people of that colony. It has not the objections that might be applied to a penal colony; for you have at any rate released New Zealand from the evils attendant on a penal settlement. Speaking, therefore, on general principles, I think the government of that colony, in connection with those immediately interested in its local prosperity, *assigning to them the administration of its affairs*, is a form of government well adapted for New Zealand. But, considering the extent of the islands, it is no easy matter to introduce the principle of Representative government, according to the construction we place upon it. It appears to me that by far the best plan would be the formation of Municipal Governments, *with extensive powers of local taxation, and of meeting all local demands*. In the opinion of Mr. Burke, the form of Representative government in our North American colonies grew out of these Municipal Governments. In, I think, his letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol, he says,—‘ These Representative Governments in North America have grown up I know not how; but there they are. The people who left this country left it with those feelings of pride, and of love and attachment to liberty, which belong to self-government. They began with Municipal institutions. Distance and absence of control gradually nurtured them, so that from small beginnings they grew into Representative Assemblies; and there I find them. I will not inspect them too narrowly. I will not inquire too close into their establishment, I believe they are the natural growth of such institutions; and those who have colonies and especially British colonies, must expect such results.’ Now I am strongly inclined to think that *the germ of a Representative Government in a colony, ought to be in these Municipalities, widening their sphere by degrees according as the land becomes settled and peopled*. I doubt whether that would not be a safer mode than that of establishing at once among so thin a population a Representative Government that would require the people of Auckland and of Wellington to meet together, separated as they are by such a great distance.”

Mr. Wakefield in his letter to Mr. Gladstone of 21st January, 1846, quotes this pregnant passage from the Premier's Speech, with the following comment:—

“ I am very glad that Sir Robert Peel quoted Burke; for if he had not thus made his own meaning clear, there are persons who, since they must bow to the Prime Minister, would not have objected directly to municipal government for New Zealand; but as they dislike whatever savours of local self-government for colonies,” would have asked us to believe that ‘municipal signifies only, for paving and lighting.’ Unable to resist the principle of local self-government, they would limit its application to the business of aldermen and common-councilmen in England. But Burke knew that every really English colony down to his time had been ruled by a municipal government, and that every one of these municipalities performed within its own limits the highest public functions. That Sir Robert Peel MEANT GOVERNMENT COMPLETE IN FUNCTION, THOUGH LIMITED AS TO TERRITORY, is obvious from his emphatic approval of ‘these municipalities’ as mentioned by Burke; from his proposing to ‘widen their sphere by degrees according as the land becomes settled and peopled;’ from his saying that they ought to have ‘the power of meeting all local demands;’ and still more (for in ascertaining the import of words, the circumstantial evidence of their logical connection is stronger than the direct testimony of particular expressions) from his suggesting narrowness of territory for each of the several governments, as the means of enjoying representation without inconvenience.”

Such then is the large and liberal right of self-government now secured by Act of Parliament; under which—whether the term Municipal or Representative be employed—the settlement of Otago starts forth;—the first, we trust, of many—be their distinctive badges otherwise what they may.

government in our remote dependencies, by mere pro-consular caprice, passion or incapacity—and of their deliverance from the still more intolerable and irresponsible despotism of Colonial Secretaries and Under-Secretaries of State.

Mr. Buller, in a late speech on the subject of this notable change, is reported to have thus expressed himself: ‘While liberal charters had been granted to colonists in the seventeenth century, and under the reigns of the Stuarts, a system had since grown up by which the colonist was consigned to an absolute tyranny—placed, in fact, under a Government only calculated for convicts; his property and liberties at the entire disposal of a Governor, with the mockery of a council, nominated and dismissable by himself; and, not only so, but the selection of these Governors and their subordinates, in most cases, so utterly inappropriate, as to be an outrage upon common sense, and altogether unendurable. So much for the general case. But it so happened, that the very youngest and weakest of all the colonies had the very essence of these vices concentrated upon it; and presenting, as it did, the greatest attractions of nature, combined with the greatest miseries which misrule could inflict, it had stood forth during a series of years, as an inexplicable and crying enormity. But New Zealand was happily connected with a mercantile body of the highest character in the city of London, who could make themselves heard in the Legislature and the country; and hence, this feeble colony has been made the means of achieving, along with its own redress, the great measure of colonial reform which the Government has at last announced, along with the intimation that the same principle now applied to New Zealand, shall in time be carried round to all, and adapted to their several circumstances.”—(*Vide Captain Cargill’s Letter, page 6.*)

It was under these auspicious circumstances that the Directors of the New Zealand Company issued in May last, their Twenty-second Report, now before us, and which may be quoted entire, as it is very short:—

“The correspondence with Her Majesty’s Government, a copy of which has been forwarded to each Proprietor of the Company, has put you in possession of the negotiations in which your Directors have been engaged on your behalf, or at least of that portion of them which has led to a practical result. This correspondence apprises you so fully of the general nature of the negotiations, and Lord Grey so clearly states the grounds on which he desires to enable the Company to renew its operations, and the means by which he proposes to

‘ carry that object into effect, that any comment upon the details is superfluous. In our reply to Lord Grey, we have stated that the arrangements proposed appear to us to afford a fair prospect of success, notwithstanding the difficulties by which the later stages of your enterprise have been attended; that in this belief, we are prepared to devote ourselves to the continued exertions indispensable to the realization of this prospect; and that, subject to your confirmation, we accede accordingly on your behalf to his Lordship’s several proposal.

“Of this step, knowing the spirit by which you are actuated, and of which we have witnessed such frequent and striking proofs, we look with confidence for your approval and ratification. Upon receiving these, we shall lose no time in adopting all necessary measures for the resumption of active colonization in its original vigor, especially for the immediate and effective carrying out of the plan which has been so long in contemplation for the settlement of OTAGO in connection with the Free Church of Scotland. In the qualities displayed, under impediments most disheartening, by the promoters of this undertaking, especially by your future representative on the spot, Captain Cargill, and in their high moral and religious feeling, we recognize a sure pledge that in fixed principle, consideration, courage, and every other element of progressive prosperity, the colonists of this settlement will in no degree fall behind the foremost of those by whom, through your instrumentality, they have been preceded.

“The annual accounts will now be laid before you, and the usual business be gone through. Since your last meeting, your constant friend and advocate, Mr. Charles Buller, has resigned his seat in your direction on the occasion of his becoming a member of Her Majesty’s Government. We have thought it more conducive to your interests not to fill up the vacancy thus created, or that caused by the decease of your late lamented Governor, until the arrangements now under consideration, shall be completed by receiving your approval and the sanction of Parliament. In consequence, four only of your directors now retire by rotation, namely—

“Stewart Marjoribanks, Esq. M. P.

“John Abel Smith, Esq. M. P.

“Sir Ralph Howard, Bart M. P. and

“William Hutt, Esq. M. P.

“All of whom we recommend for re-election.

“New Zealand House, Broad Street Buildings, 14th May, 1847.”

Before proceeding further, we must here explain that one of the most formidable *social* obstacles in the way of successful colonization hitherto, has been the impossibility of providing to any one new settlement, the means of religious instruction fully equal to its need; a necessary consequence of the admixture hitherto of many various religious creeds and sects in almost every party of emigrants that embarked. The natural remedy for this serious imperfection in the system, was the separation of religious creeds in the very first formation of each settlement, so that each from its actual commencement might secure for every individual member of it, the precise form of religious instruction and worship which he conscientiously preferred to all others, in reverence for which he had himself been trained from infancy in his father-land, and in which he fondly wished to educate his children too in the new land of their adoption.

Dr. Aldcorn, the Secretary, in Scotland, of the Committee appointed for management there of the Otago scheme—which happens to be the first settlement projected under the new and vastly reformed system now commencing—thus writes in explanation of this *class* character which those settlements are to bear:—"These colonies or settlements, for there may be several or many of them, are intended to be *sectional* in their character—that is, this first one is to be Free Church, the next may be Episcopalian, and after these may follow a Wesleyan, or Congregational, or any other. The reason for adopting this denominational or *class* character, as it has been called, is the insurmountable difficulty that has been experienced in New Zealand and elsewhere (as in the Australian colonies), of distributing, with satisfaction to any party, the funds set apart for the support of religion or education, and the positive evil that arose in some of those places from the attempts that were made to carry out this distribution."

Now we must express our own conviction that great and valuable as is the change now dawning on our colonial system, there is not one feature in it which can be hailed as so full of promise, as this practical adoption of the religious element, of the pure Protestant type, into the constitution of these new settlements from their very outset; and this in full deference to the specialities of many kinds, which though sectarian, are not at all incompatible with the highest and purest religious principles. Nor is it a circumstance unworthy of note, that the *first* which happens to have started into existence, is under the auspices of a Body whose high and hardy principles of civil and religious

freedom resemble more, perhaps, than any other, those of the Pilgrim-Colohists who laid in ages past the great foundations of trans-atlantic liberty and independence on the imperishable rock of religious truth. We trust, however, that other Bodies may soon enter the same inviting field of enterprize.

Captain Cargill in his *letter to Dr. Aldcorn*, p. 9, calls "very special attention to that which constitutes the most important feature of the Otago plan, namely, a systematic and permanent provision for religious ordinances, and for schools and a college in the colony :—

"This provision will not only meet the wants of the first generation of settlers, but, such is the expansive capacity of the scheme, that however fast or far the settlement may expand over these inviting lands, every additional acre so taken up, will just throw in its proportionate addition to the funds for religious and educational purposes.

"No similar provision has found place in any British colony since the time of the "Pilgrim Fathers," the founders of the New England States of North America,—by far the wisest and most successful effort in the whole annals of colonization that I am acquainted with.

"This most memorable colonizing achievement of the Pilgrim Fathers, is indeed pregnant with instruction. It stands forth a wise and holy example for our imitation; and, if we except that which was the more immediate and pressing cause, viz. the necessity of seeking an asylum from the unrelenting rigour of religious intolerance in the mother country, there is hardly one of the causes which they themselves have assigned as those which induced them to emigrate to New England, which is not now in full operation in our own day, and which is not felt by thousands of our countrymen as a most powerful argument in favor of a similar movement on the part of themselves."

It is not deemed necessary however for preserving the *distinctive* religious character of this Otago settlement—that every purchaser without exception should himself be a member of the Free Church of Scotland; it is merely requisite that parties—in India or elsewhere—who may desire to become members of the Association, should clearly understand that the *public endowments*, at first set apart for Churches and Schools, are to be applied *entirely* for the support of those institutions in *connection with that Church*.

We shall now touch very briefly on the great physical attractions which this region presents as a colony generally,

and the arrangements for establishment of the settlement at Otago.

The Islands of New Zealand, three in number, lie between the parallel of 34° and 47° South Latitude. The "Northern" and "Middle" Islands are by far the largest of the three, and of nearly equal size. Their territorial extent together is almost identical with that of the United Kingdom; and after making due allowance for lake, morass, and large chains and groups of Alpine mountains, the total amount of available land has been estimated, after the most elaborate surveys, at not less than sixty millions of acres. It is no small advantage that this large area is not contained in a vast continent accessible only from a limited portion of coast, but that the far greater and richer portion is immediately accessible from a long line of no less than 3,000 miles of coast, abounding in safe and commodious harbours.

The natural resources of the country are great and varied. "Mineral riches abound," reports Governor Fitzroy; "their extent and variety are becoming more known and better ascertained every month. Since I last wrote to your lordship, and mentioned this subject, tin has been found in this neighbourhood and close to the sea." Copper, sulphur, lead, manganese, iron and coal, had been previously known to be abundant. The flax of New Zealand is already famous, and has become to a large extent a cheap and valuable substitute in Europe for Russian hemp. Its wool rivals the finest Australian. The forests "abound with an extraordinary variety of timber of the most valuable qualities, applicable to every purpose of commerce or domestic life." And New Zealand is the natural emporium of the great Southern Whale Trade—a fishery on which the whole world may be now said to depend exclusively for its supply of oil and whalebone, the North-sea whale-fisheries being almost entirely destroyed.

The natural fertility of the soil on the plains and in the vallies is very great; and the luxuriance of the vegetation every where, arising both from the goodness of the land, and the regular and abundant supply of moisture, is attested to by all residents and travellers, as extraordinary. All kinds of grain, fruit and vegetables from Europe, grow well and produce as large or larger crops than they do there. The vine, the olive, and the fig, attain the fullest perfection throughout the Northern Island, and in the Northern part of the Middle Island. To the sheep farmer, no colony offers larger attractions: such is the abundance and goodness of the pasturage, and its continuance

through all seasons of the year—in winter as well as in summer affording full feeding for cattle and sheep—that there is no necessity for ever housing the herds and flocks, or providing winter provender for them. (Vide the evidence of J. C. Crawford and F. A. Molesworth, Esquires, and others before the House of Commons in June 1844).—G. B. Earl, Esq., stated in evidence before the same Committee, as follows—“The common saying in N. S. Wales is that it takes five acres to keep one sheep; but in New Zealand, on the contrary, they say that it takes one acre to keep five sheep.”

With respect to *Climate*—the evidence of its excellence, and especial adaptation to European constitution, is perfectly overwhelming. At Wellington, which is centrally placed in South Latitude 41°, about five degrees to the North of Otago, and as many to the South of Auckland—the mean temperature quarterly was as follows:—

|              |        |
|--------------|--------|
| Summer ..... | 65° 3' |
| Autumn ..... | 59° 3' |
| Winter ..... | 50° 4' |
| Spring ..... | 57° 7' |

which may be compared with that of *London*, N. lat. 51° 30'

|              |        |
|--------------|--------|
| Summer ..... | 61° 7' |
| Autumn ..... | 50° 3' |
| Winter ..... | 38° 2' |
| Spring ..... | 48° 3' |

At Wellington in July, the coldest month of the year, the greatest cold at noon was 38°; in January, the warmest month, the highest temperature at noon was 76° 5'. Snow falls partially in the southern part of Middle Island during winter, lying occasionally on the hilly uplands for a day or two. No local or epidemic diseases, or others peculiar to the country, such as marsh, or bilious, fevers, agues or bowel complaints, seem to prevail, so far as is yet known. Ague indeed has never appeared even in low and damp localities. Every where the colonists from Great Britain and Ireland, France and Germany, who have been in the country for longer or shorter periods, have enjoyed a course of uninterrupted good health, such as none of our people in any of our colonies (some parts of Australia perhaps excepted) have ever experienced, and even better than these people themselves enjoyed at home. “The young too of all animals, the human as well as the lower, thrive in an extraordinary manner; and all the breeds of cattle and sheep which have been introduced into the colony have

improved by the change—two facts strongly testifying to the salubrity of the climate.”

With exception of about 1,000 Natives resident at its Northern extremity, and a few stragglers near Otago Bay and at the southern, there are no Aborigines found on the Middle Island at all. The seat of all the warlike disturbances of late years, and also the seat of Government, (Auckland), is the northern end of the Northern Island, nearly 900 miles distant from Otago.

The magnificent Bay of Otago (as Colonel Wakefield terms it) and all the region for many miles around it, have been repeatedly surveyed, and it would appear, with extraordinary care. Our space, however, will not permit us to enter on any description of the varied advantages—most attractive as the account might prove—which the locality seems to possess as the future Seat of a Colony at once pastoral, agricultural, and commercial.

The following *extracts* from the prospectus put forward by the Otago Association, may, for our present purpose, convey to our readers a sufficient general idea of the nature of the scheme. Fuller explanation, particularly in regard to the pecuniary details, does not fall within our province; but this work we are led to expect may presently be done in an efficient manner by parties locally authorized, and qualified to communicate to the Indian public every information regarding the project, and to receive applications in this country for membership in the Association. We are gratified to learn by the latest accounts from home, that the arrangements for the dispatch, as also for due reception at the colony, of the first party of settlers, were nearly completed; and that Captain Cargill was himself to accompany them—an advantage of the greatest moment:—

“4. The Site of the Settlement to be at OTAGO, IN THE MIDDLE ISLAND OF NEW ZEALAND, on the land granted to the Company, by a Deed under the Seal of the Territory, bearing date the 13th day of April, 1846.”

“5. The Settlement to comprise one hundred and forty-four thousand six hundred acres of land, divided into two thousand four hundred Properties; and each Property to consist of sixty acres and a quarter, divided into three Allotments; namely, a Town Allotment of a quarter of an acre, a Suburban Allotment of ten acres, and a Rural Allotment of fifty acres.”

“6. The 2,400 Properties to be appropriated as follows, namely:—

2,000 Properties, or 120,500 acres, for sale to private individuals;

100 Properties, or 6,025 acres, for the estate to be purchased by the Local Municipal Government;

100 Properties, or 6,025 acres, for the estate to be purchased by the Trustees for Religious and Educational Uses; and,

• 200 Properties, or 12,050 acres, for the estate to be purchased by the New Zealand Company.

“7. The price of the land to be fixed in the first instance at forty shillings



an acre, or 120*l.* 10*s.* a Property; to be charged on the estates of the Municipal Government, of the Trustees for Religious and Educational Uses, and of the New Zealand Company, in the same manner as on the 2,000 Properties intended for sale to private individuals; and the purchase-money, 289,200*l.*, to be appropriated as follows, namely:—

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| Emigration and supply of labour ( <i>three-eighths</i> ) . . .  | £108,450 |
| Civil Uses, to be administered by the Company, viz.:  |          |
| Surveys and other expenses of founding the Settlement, Roads, Bridges, and other improvements, including Steam, if hereafter deemed expedient, and if the requisite funds be found available ( <i>two-eighths</i> ) | 72,300'  |
| Religious and Educational Uses, to be administered by Trustees ( <i>one-eighth</i> ) . . . . .  | 36,150   |
| The New Zealand Company, on account of its capital and risk ( <i>two-eighths</i> ) . . . . .  | 72,300   |

"It is to be observed, that from the sum of 36,150*l.* to be assigned to the Trustees of Religious and Educational Uses, will be defrayed 12,050*l.*, the price of the 6,025 acres to be purchased as the estate of that Trust.

"In like manner, out of the sum of 72,300*l.* to be assigned to the New Zealand Company, will be defrayed 24,100*l.*, the price of the 12,050 acres to be purchased by the Company as its Estate.

But the 6,025 acres, constituting the Estate to be purchased by the Local Municipal Government, must be separately paid for by that Government; and until payment therefore of the price, 12,050*l.*, together with the Colonial interest thereon, the land will be held by the Administrators of the Fund for Civil Uses, with power to dispose of the same, if such payment be not made within one year after the completion of the sales of the remainder of the two thousand four hundred Properties."

"12. In laying out the Chief Town of the Settlement,—to be named "DUNEDIN,"—due provision to be made for Public Purposes, as Fortifications, Public Buildings, Baths, Wharfs, Quays, Cemeteries, Squares, a Park, and other places for health and recreation: for all which, instructions have already been given to the Company's Principal Agent.

13. The first party of Colonists, including free passengers, to be of sufficient numbers to entitle them to an Act of Municipality; but to be despatched by one or more embarkations, and to be based upon the sale to private individuals, of not fewer than four hundred Properties, or one-fifth of the whole scheme.

"14. Two years from the date of the first embarkation to be allowed for the despatch of the second Party, and one year for the despatch of each successive Party afterwards; each Party being based, like the first, upon the sale to private individuals of not fewer than four hundred Properties. The term of five years, therefore, to be thus allowed to the Association for completing the sales in the proportions abovementioned; but on their failing in any of these proportions, the Company to have the option of disposing of the whole of the remaining lands to other parties."

Here for the present we must pause;—purposely confining ourselves on this occasion, to the very summary sketch we have given of recent and passing events in connection with the attempt to colonize those islands—a region felicitously termed the Great Britain of the Southern Hemisphere; desirous, as we really are, less to satisfy, than to stimulate, hopeful interest

in regard to them; anxious rather in the first instance, to indicate to many of our fellow-countrymen on whom long-revolving Indian suns have shone not prosperously, and whose flesh and heart may be failing them, that there is in the bounty of a gracious Providence, another and not very distant scene open to them, unthought-of by them at all hitherto perhaps, but now opening more brightly than ever it has done to any; where the pure and simple blessings of life which they may have so long sighed for in vain, can very shortly be commanded at small cost, for themselves and their rising families:—The blessings of life?—yes—both of “the life that now is,” in the enjoyment of patriarchal peace and plenty on the easy condition of patriarchal scorn of life’s false pleasures—and “of the life to come,” in the possession of pure Christian education and ordinances, leavening society from the very outset of its career.

But it is not the range of one article that could suffice were we to enter on the wider, more romantic, and to the general reader, therefore, the far more attractive field to which this theme invites us.—How astonishing the story of the past in regard to those regions!—their first, yet comparatively recent, discovery; the wondrous conjectures, and then the gradual and still more wondrous revelations, of scientific research through them; the strange tales of desperate adventure and wild enterprise both by sea and land, involving years of separation from civilized humanity; by and bye the coming upon the scene, of men professing to teach Christian truth to cannibal savages; coincident therewith, the darkly contrasting influence of near neighbourhood to penal British Settlements, surcharged with all the crime intolerable to the mother-country; anon and very unexpectedly, the excitement of national feeling aroused by the imminent threat of French possession in dispute of British right of discovery; and hereupon and hereby—the sudden appearance of that powerful Colonial Corporation, a mighty Organization starting “in complete steel” from the great commercial and political Head of the world, into mature existence as in a moment—the **NEW ZEALAND COMPANY!** a Body which has now, after a struggle of but a few years, with abuses which nearly as many ages had stereotyped into the system of our Colonial Government, achieved the great but peaceful and beneficent triumph of truth and sound principle which we have above recorded.

This, and much more than all this, from the records of the past—we do hope to have another opportunity ere long of considering. And how greatly is the interest of the subject enhanced

by view of THE FUTURE which promises, before many months are over, to bring Australia within four weeks' reach of India, through "the mighty agency of steam." It is not alone then to the intending permanent settler, the Indian resident whose failing health, narrow means, and severed family—and perhaps hopelessness either of his own return home, or of making due provision for his children after him, may be weighing him down body and spirit in this uncongenial climate,—that the subject must be interesting here; but also to the occasional visitor—to the very many, who whether in quest of health, amusement, or science, will find in those scenes, soon to be comparatively near at hand and easy of access, more attraction than in any other quarter to which Indian travellers can now by any possibility resort.

Based as the Otago Scheme obviously is on the soundest principles of religion and philanthropy—all its arrangements apparently planned with most admirable caution, intelligence, and foresight—its actual execution under the immediate control and conduct of men, whose character, experience, and position have already secured for them the confidence of the Government and the admiration of their country—the success of this noble undertaking does appear to us, under God's blessing, to be inevitable. The solitary place will be glad for them; it will rejoice at their coming; it will blossom abundantly. And the day may now be looked forward to, when these fertile but hitherto untrodden wastes shall teem with a population not only glorying in their British name and pedigree—and not only inheriting from their immediate progenitors a territory yielding beneath a bracing sky all the material bounties of heaven, but richer far in the heritage bequeathed to them, of Civil and Religious Institutions, rooted as it were in their very soil—identified, from the first and for ever, with their social and political existence—the surest safeguards of all that constitutes true national greatness or individual happiness.

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- ART. VI.—1.—*A Sketch of Assam ; with some account of the Hill tribes. By an officer, in the Honorable E. I. Company's Bengal Native Infantry in civil employ. With illustrations from Sketches by the Author. Smith, Elder and Co. 1847.*
2. *Simla ; by Captain George Powell Thomas, of the 64th Bengal Native Infantry. Dickenson and Co. 1846.*
3. *Military Service and Adventures in the Far East, including sketches of the campaigns against the Affghans in 1839 and the Sikhs in 1845-46. Ollier. 1847.*
4. *Recollections of Four years' Service in the East, with H. M.'s 40th Regiment. By J. M. B. Neill, Captain, 40th Regiment. Bentley.*
5. *Six views of Kote Kangra and the surrounding country ; sketched on the spot, by Lieut. Colonel Jack, 50th Regiment N. I. Smith, Elder and Co. 1847.*
6. *Briefe aus Indien, &c. (letters from India ; by Dr. W. Hoffmeister, Physician in the suite of Prince Waldemar of Prussia ; edited by Dr. A. Hoffmeister. Brunswick. Westermann. 1847.*

WE purpose in this article to say as little as possible for ourselves. It is not our intention to offer a dissertation of our own upon any set subject ; but to introduce to our readers, where introduction is necessary, the works whose titles we have above transcribed, not as mere “make-believes,” or even as so many pegs whercon to hang our own excellent wisdom ; but a bonâ fide half-dozen of genuine books placed before us for actual review. With one-half of these the reader can have made no previous acquaintance, before this number of our journal passes into circulation ; with the other half he will not, we are sure, be sorry to, have his acquaintance refreshed. With one exception they are the works of Indian officers. Nay, indeed, we are not sure that we ought to make even this one exception ; for the officers of the Indian army will ever regard as a brother, one who, though not an Englishman by birth, fell on the field of battle amongst Englishmen, and was immortalised in an English Gazette.

And as far, as these volumes are illustrative of Military Life and Adventure in the East, we purpose to let them speak for themselves. The lights and shadows of Indian life are here set forth in striking contrasts—scattered too over a wide surface ; from Assam to Istaliff. Let us start from the former place. The Assam officer has presented us with a volume,

handsome enough in all externals—handsomely printed, handsomely bound, and handsomely illustrated. But it has other and higher claims to consideration. It is a book at once amusing and instructive—full of information conveyed in a pleasant, unaffected style, and presenting upon the surface many characteristic traces of the true soldier—cheerful, patient, manly, full of hope and full of courage. It is no secret, we believe, that Captain Butter is the author of this book. He was at Mynpuri, with his regiment, at the close of 1840, when he received the appointment of second-in-command to the Assam Light Infantry; and started in a budgerow with as little delay as possible to join his new staff-corps.

Our Assam Light Infantry officer had spent some time at Gowalparah in 1837; and here he touched in 1840, on his way to join his appointment. “An absence (interval) of three years,” he says, “had produced few changes in the condition of the people or the appearance of the buildings, excepting in the house I formerly occupied, which had been suffered to become a heap of ruins. One vestige of the *débris*, however, gratified my self-love. A little glass window-frame, made with my own hands, still survived the destruction of time and the elements, and vividly recalled to memory the difficulty I had overcome in endeavouring to admit light into my little dwelling. Such a luxury as window glass being unknown at the remote station, I had purchased some of the small looking glasses which always abound in the Indian bazars, and removing the quicksilver, converted them into window panes.” The pursuit of comfort under difficulties, indeed! In a country where the luxury of glass-windows is not denied to the poorest cottager, this passage may excite some surprise; here it will excite sympathy. Who does not know the value set upon a house “with glass-windows” in a remote station—who does not know how to appreciate such an achievement as that so modestly related in the above passage? Light, it is true, is always obtainable, and the Assam officer scarcely describes the real state of affairs, when he talks of “endeavouring to admit light into his little dwelling.” A hole cut in the side of a mat house will admit light enough—and more than enough; but the difficulty is to obtain light without hot wind in the dry weather, with its accompaniment of dust; and rain in the wet season. Time was when even in Calcutta glass-windows were little known; and now, we believe, that they are becoming common in the *Ultima thule* of Assam and Arracan. That a rudely constructed glass-window should be thus appreciated, as a luxury of the first water, is a circumstance to

be duly regarded by those who would form a correct estimate of the *agréments* of military life in the East. And who knows, but that the future historian of Assam may not dwell upon such a circumstance with curious interest, even as we now read Mr. Shore's complaints of the want of glass-windows in Calcutta, and wonder how it was that Mr. Forbes was compelled to go to bed soon after sunset, because he could afford neither a candle nor a supper?

After passing Gowahatty our officer, not being satisfied with the progress of his budgerow, transferred himself to "a canoe formed of a single tree hollowed out." "It was," he adds, "forty-eight feet long, and three feet wide, ten feet of the length being covered in with a small mat roof as an apology for a cabin. In this I felt by no means uncomfortable, though I had only a little more room than served to enable me to lie down at full length." We might almost suspect that we are indebted to the printer for these proportions. Let any one who has a room or a verandah long enough for the purpose, step out forty-eight feet and see the length of this canoe hollowed out of a single tree. But, any how, these primitive vessels have their advantages in addition to the great one of increased speed, for they are much more secure than budgerows and pinnaces, against the perils of wind and water, being not very easily swamped or very easily capsized. But, says the traveller—a hardy stout-hearted fellow enough,—there is nevertheless "a painful sense of insecurity from the streams and rivers in many parts of Assam swarming with crocodiles;" and he adds, "I have heard that one of these amphibious monsters has been known to seize a paddler unconsciously sleeping in the front part of the boat." Pleasant fellows these crocodiles; and plenty of them. Our Assam officer tells us that, on one occasion, "a heap of one hundred crocodile's eggs, each about the size of a turkey's egg, were discovered on a sand bank and brought to him." "I found on blowing them," he adds, "that they all contained a perfectly formed crocodile, about two inches long, which would have crept forth after a few days' more exposure to the sun."

Such is the population of an Indian river. Further in there are other inhabitants, with which one is equally disinclined to associate. The Assam officer on reaching his station at Saikwah ("a more desolate place," he says, "can scarcely be imagined,") set about the construction of a house. We give the account in his own words, and take the opportunity of introducing his new associates to the reader:—

"A few days after my arrival at Saikwah sufficed to plaster my mat-and-

grass cottage with mud, and with the assistance of the Sipahis, a chimney for a fire place was soon constructed, with bricks and mortar obtained from old buildings at Suddeah; then putting in a glass window, I was enabled, in comfort and solitariness, to pursue my usual vocations in all weathers. In this secluded retreat, every incident, however trifling in itself, acquired an importance which induced me to note it in my tablets. One one occasion, about eight o'clock at night, sitting by a snug fireside, my attention was arrested by the approach of an unwelcome visitor making his way in at the door. Taking up a candle to ascertain who or what was forcing ingress to my dwelling, I beheld a python, or boa-constrictor, about six feet long, steadily advancing towards me. In my defenceless position it may be imagined that safety depended on immediate flight; and the monster thus speedily gained entire possession of my habitation. It was, however, for a few minutes only, that he was permitted to remain the undisturbed occupant of the abode; for my servants quickly despatched the intruder with a few blows inflicted with long poles. An apothecary, who had long been attached to the Assam Light Infantry, assured me that pythons, or boa-constrictors, were very numerous in our vicinity, and of an immense size, some not being less than fifteen or eighteen feet in length. I had evidence of the truth of the statement; a skin, fifteen feet long, being subsequently brought me by the natives. I caused it to be tanned and sent to England. Small serpents were often met with. On one occasion the apothecary brought me two boa-constrictors of about four feet long, which he had found on a table curled up amongst some bottles in the same room where his children were sleeping. In all probability the lives of the infants were saved by the mosquito curtains preventing access to the bed. Boa-constrictors are exceedingly fond of rats, and on this occasion they had evidently been in search of their prey.

As my cottage had not the usual white cloth ceiling suspended, insects, snakes, and vermin frequently descended from the roof into the rooms; but by keeping the house free of baggage and well swept, contact with them was avoided. The reader will suppose an Assam mat-hut to be a dreary kind of residence; but I can assure him, the logwood fire on a hearth one foot high, in the centre of the room, with a small window cut high in the wall for the escape of the smoke, is by no means devoid of cheerfulness."

The cheerfulness, perhaps, is after all more in the gallant Captain's heart. "There's nothing, either good or bad, but thinking makes it so." Many a man would have growled over much better quarters than these; the Assam Light Infantry officer is made of good stuff, he looks on the bright side of the world, and finds "good in everything." A mat-hut, with a hole in the wall for the escape of the smoke, and all sorts of reptiles descending from the ceilingless roof, like the carwigs, which dropped into good Mrs. Nickleby's tea, is not *prima facie* the sort of dwelling, in which one would feel much disposed to be jolly. But an Indian officer must be "equal to either fortune"—to the fortune of a palace in Chowringhi or a mat-hut in the wilds of Assam. Happy the man, who is possessed of the present writer's constitutional cheerfulness—and happy the Company which is in possession of tribes of such servants. There have, we know, been occasions, on active service,

when unnecessary complaints have been raised—when certain grumblings, denotative of little heart and hope, have made their way to distant places—but take them for all, there is not a class of men in the world, more willing to endure with manly patience, the discomforts of existence in camp or in cantonment—more ready to laugh down the lesser ills of life—than the officers of the Indian army. Heaven help them, if they lacked passive courage—if they were less able to endure than to *do* !

And here we must leave this agreeable volume. The next on our list is truly a gorgeous work—a magnificent folio containing a series of views taken far enough from Assam. One bound ; and we find ourselves at Simla.

Captain Thomas is a man after our own heart. He is one—we say it with all consideration—

“ Whose pen and pencil yield an equal grace ; ”

Who illustrates his writings with comely pictures, and his pictures with clever letter press. In both capacities he “ does all like a man.” We could not entrust the credit of the Himalayas to a bolder pencil or a freer pen. There is an impulsiveness in all that Capt. Thomas does which accords well with the scenery he describes and the bracing climate in which he revels ; he writes and sketches like a man rejoicing in his emancipation from those restraints which have bound him down, on the plains, to the lower earth of apathy and indolence, and clogged the movements of his free spirit. In a word, he is a dashing writer and a dashing artist ; and that he is a dashing soldier, we may believe on the authority of those who have borne witness to his services in the field.

Of Captain Thomas’ power as a draftsman—of the freedom and force of his execution ; of the artistic skill with which he has “ made up ” the series of drawings before us ; of his truthful management of perspective, linear and aerial ; of the cleverness with which he has imparted to the magnificent expanse of hills, range upon range, which bound the landscape in these noble views, a character of immensity impressive and sublime—we can only speak in language, dim and insignificant, bidding the reader to confide in our assertions, without such evidence, as we can supply when we are reviewing mere letter-press, but which in the case of an art-publication like this we must send him to seek for himself. And in truth he could not do much better.—Captain Thomas’ *SIMLA* is a book, which it is a privilege to possess. They who have visited the mighty mountains will rejoice in having their recollections refreshed.



with so much force and reality; and they who have never journeyed thus far will be happy in the opportunity of deriving as truthful an impression of the grandeur and variety of the hill-scenery as it is possible for a few sheets of drawing paper—or, indeed, for a huge expanse of canvas painted even by Mr. Burford—to impart.

The letter-press, which accompanies a gorgeous volume of engravings, is too often over-looked. It is regarded as a mere make-weight and treated with contempt. Sometimes indeed it merits no better fate; for it consists of nothing better than a few pages of scissors-work, got up, perhaps, with no great craft by a worn-out literary hack. But we would recommend no one to pass lightly over Captain Thomas' letter-press. To be sure there are but a dozen pages of it—but such pages!—each one containing the matter of an ordinary sheet. There is a vast deal of valuable information and pleasant writing in these pages—much that is worth remembering, and not a line that is not worth reading. For the information contained in these chapters the reader must search for himself. It con-sorts better with the plan of this article that we should extract a few passages descriptive of that life on the hills, to which there are few military men in this country who can not look back with peculiar feelings—but it would demand a volume to write of the lights and shadows of life on the hills and all the feelings, which it has called, for good or evil, into activity more permanent than a “six months' leave.”

Here is an extract from Capt. Thomas' account of the ascent towards Simla. The first mouth-full of pure mountain air is something, indeed, to be remembered and recorded:—

“I know of few sensations more delicious than that of getting up hill (I do not speak in metaphor), especially when, as in your ascent from Barh, you presently behold the speckled and streaked plains you have quitted, *sinking* deeper and deeper below you, and spreading away further and further in light and shadow, till the purple and azure distance mingles, like the ocean, with the sky.

Presently, in your zig-zag course, you crown a height steeper than the rest, and find yourself suddenly surrounded by pine trees, in all probability the first you have seen since you left old England. This is Chambea. The afternoon sun (or, if you like it better, the morning sun) glances on those noble trees, and the clear cold breeze whistles through them. They skirt the eminence on which you stand, and dive till they are lost in the purple shadows of the glen below, which lies so calm, so cold, so seemingly inaccessible to man, that you long to hurl into it some of the many masses of stone that lie around, and to see them bounding and leaping and whirling from crag to crag, till they are shivered on some point of rock, and scattered into a thousand fragments round the startled “*capripedes satyri*” that tenant that abyss.

On an isolated hill beyond this beautiful glen, stands or lies, for it is far

below you, the pretty hill cantonment of Sabathu, the country quarters of an European regiment of the line. Far beyond and above Sabathu the heights of Simla are visible, at least on a clear day. Simla in turn is backed by the larger and lesser Shali mountains, and many another azure or purple height. And above, though not far above these, again peer the summits of Huttu and Hagkandha, whose outlines might have merged into the sky, but that between them and it tower the snows of the higher Himalayas. From this same "bold headland," where we have paused so long, sending our vision so far forth, the lately ascending zig-zag road suddenly dips. It does so that it may lead you to the banks of the Gunbhur, a sparkling pretty little river, that rages and smiles by turns—rushes to day and scarcely moves to-morrow; in short, changes moods as often as Virgil says the ladies did of old.

A journey of five miles or less along the side of this river, and for the latter part along the base of precipitous rocks, brings you to the suspension bridge below Hurripur. It is ornamental always, but useful only in the rains, though even then its utility is none of the most lasting, for the bridge itself is generally destroyed by the first heavy and continued fall of rain. Be this, however, as it may, at all other seasons the traveller, whether on foot or horseback, seems for choice to make to the water. And sure I am, that the horse who is standing knee deep in the dancing stream, whose day's journey is to end at Hurripur, has his fill of enjoyment as he takes a pull first at the bridle and then at the water."

And here we have, as a fitting appendix to the above, a tribute to the first "awaking at Simla." Speaking of Captain Dalzell's house, Captain Thomas says:—

"I have a leaning to this house, and like it almost as well as the Mount, though the scenery is not nearly so beautiful as that from thence. But the fact is, that I once went up to Simla dangerously ill, and recovered in an incredibly short time in this house. By the way, it is impossible to describe the delicious feeling of awaking at Simla for the first time, and looking out upon the purple and shadowy dells below, and the dark dense woods around, and the spotless Himalayas in the distance, and the moss and ivy on the trunks of the oak and pines about your path, and the dewy *English* wild flower and fern under foot. The intensity (as the phrase runs) of such a moment can neither be described nor forgotten. A delicious home feeling wells up and refreshes the sick man's heart, and home itself arises "to his mind's eye," not as he last beheld it, but arrayed in all its brightest hues."

Here is something about the society of Simla; it is introduced *à-propos* to a clever sketch of a Fancy Fair at Annadale:—

"Having forgotten to do so elsewhere, I may as well say here that the society at Simla in the season, that is to say, from April till November, consists of between two and three hundred of the officers of the civil and military services, and their families.

Simla is "indifferently stupid" for the first few weeks, for despite the maxim that "everybody knows everybody," nobody knows anybody for about that time, and society is accordingly as stiff and hollow, if not quite as deceptive, as a horsehair petticoat. But towards the end of the season—just when it is time to bid perhaps an eternal farewell—people get up an eternal friendship; all becomes holiday costume, and what with balls, races, picnics, and exploring parties, we prove our belief, that it is the business of true wisdom to enjoy the present moment, and let Care go hang herself in

her garters. Then come on (or come off, which is it?) at the same time, the races at Annadale, the race ball, and the fancy fair. The fancy fair takes place between the first and second days of the races, and affords very good sport in its way. The season and the scene are alike delightful. The rains are just over, the air is once more dry and bracing, the sky is clear, the sun not warm, and nature is looking more charming than ever in her new green dress; moreover, half the pretty women at Simla are established in their stalls under the pine forest—yonder in the background—making a sunshine in a shady place, and selling their wares for *less than nothing*. And (to be guilty of an anti-climax!) still further in “the merry green wood” stands a most spacious tent, to which a posse of butlers and khidmutgars are perpetually running with goodly freights of Champagne, and no end to hams and pasties; so that they bid fair to have “that within which passeth show,” when one is tired of being actor or sufferer, seller or buyer.”

And here we have a brief chapter on the climate of Simla. A sixth months’ leave to visit the Hills on sick certificate, or on private affairs, is not one of the least brilliant of the lights of Military Life in India. No one can read the following and marvel that soon after the close of the hot-weather the General Orders of the Commander-in-chief teem with these leave-announcements:—

“From March, when the sleet and snow may be said to have passed away, to the middle of July, the climate is heavenly. There is nothing like it on earth. Nothing! Nothing in Italy! Nothing in France! Nothing any where that I know of. Recall the fairest day, nay hour, of sunshine you have ever known in an English spring, and conceive the beauty and gladness of that sunshine, brightened by continuing without a storm, almost without a shower, daily *for months together*; and deck the fruit trees and bushes in a thousand *English* blossoms; and spread violets and daisies, and strawberry blossoms, and wild roses, and anemones, thickly, thickly over the bright close emerald turf; over crags amid the pine roots, and far away down amid the ferns beside the “runnels,” and you may fancy something of what our Simla spring and brief summer are.

And then, alas, come the rains! From the middle of July to the middle of September you have healthy weather still, but no end to rain; in short, a climate perfectly English as England is, nearly three parts of the year.

From early in September to the end of December you have dry clear frosty weather, very delicious, and very bracing; and from that time till spring again, you may count upon living like the ancient mariner, in “a land of mist and snow,”—very healthy, but certainly not agreeable. But the hills are almost deserted in the winter.”

We are not sure that in these extracts we have done full justice to Captain Thomas, for the most valuable portion of his work we have left untouched. We have treated Captain Butter, after the same fashion. But our article is on Military Life and Military Adventure; not on Eastern Topography; not on Indian statistics; not on the natural history of Hindustan. We should be well pleased, if Captain Thomas were to afford us another opportunity of calling attention to his ability as a writer; he could not have a better theme than the

Himalayas, nor one better calculated to display his peculiar talents. We have a long-standing promise to meet our readers again on that ground; and should be glad to place a volume from Captain Thomas' pen at the head of our list of works for review.

We now turn to our "Cavalry Officer." He has reasons, we believe, for preserving the incognito; we shall not, therefore, lift the veil. It is enough that he is an officer of the 16th Lancers—a clever, sensible writer; and seemingly a well-read, well-educated gentleman. From his volumes—with the attractive title of "Military Service and Military Adventure in the Far East," we purpose to quote freely. This number of our journal will, in all probability, pass into the hands of our readers, before the Cavalry Officer's book can make its way into general circulation; and therefore we can afford to be liberal in our extracts. From a work, which has already obtained a large Indian publicity, we are compelled to be more chary of our quotations.

The "Cavalry officer" arrived in India, some ten years ago, and proceeded, almost immediately to join his regiment, which was then stationed in the North-west Provinces. His sojourn at Calcutta was very brief and not very satisfactory. He found the people of the City of Palaces anything but hospitably inclined:—

"I believe the case was materially different a few years ago; but we found cause to remark, during our fortnight's sojourn in Calcutta, that we had experienced less hospitality and more incivility than in any other city of the world, not excepting even New York. The then revolution in the social system of the East has been attributed to the recent establishment of hotels in the city, but this appears more of a subterfuge than a palliation. The absence of the Governor-General and Commander-in-chief, who were at that time in the upper provinces, had drained Calcutta of the best of its population, as we were informed and afterwards experienced; and we therefore saw the place under unfavourable circumstances."—*Vol. I. p. 11.*

We are not altogether sure that this reproach is well-merited. Calcutta, even in the absence of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-chief, is not much given to inhospitality and incivility. But the complaint, we know, is frequently made and the complainants are mostly to be found among the officers of the Queen's service. Nothing can be more intelligible. The hospitality of Calcutta is not extinct; but it must be sought. It does not go out in search of objects to vent itself upon; it does not explore single-poled tents on the glacies of the Fort; or wander about the *maidan* in search of young Lancers or Dragoons. It does not keep watch on the steps of Chandpal Ghat that no friendless young sailor may escape it. Still

it is a reasonable enough sort of hospitality, and has some kindness and cordiality in it. The truth is—we do not speak with any especial reference to the case before us—that young officers in the Queen's service, even they who are attached to quiet common-place regiments of the line, and how much more surely the dashing young aristocrats of our crack Cavalry corps, are so much accustomed, on arriving at a new European station, to be sought by the inhabitants of the place—so much accustomed to create a sensation—so habituated to see all Dover or all Canterbury prostrate at their feet—that on reaching India they are both surprized and irritated at the apathy of the people of Calcutta or Madras. It must be acknowledged that we do not much trouble ourselves about the arrival of a new regiment. A large proportion of those, who, taking their evening drive on the course see a regiment disembarking opposite to the Fort, do not trouble themselves to enquire the number of it. Of the many soft female hearts, then and there assembled, not one beats less steadily—not one bright eye beams more brightly—not one young bosom swells with thoughts of conquest: uniforms are altogether at a discount, and a strange regiment is a thing of no account. Her Majesty's officers are not accustomed to such displays of stoicism. Somewhat inclined to resent an indifference, so little flattering, as though it were an affront to their order, they forget that they are in a new land, making trial of a new state of society, and called upon, if they would not be voluntary out-casts, to do at Rome what is done at Rome, and conform to the customs of the country. We know that Queen's officers have ere now expected to bring all Calcutta or Madras down to their barracks by the mere force of their own attractiveness; and have declared their resolution not to make those initial calls of ceremony, which in India are made by the last, as in England by the first comer. They will not call on the old residents—not they! They will be called upon. They soon find their mistake. The mountain will not go to Mahommed—nay, perhaps the mountain is unconscious of the very existence of Mahommed. A score of Cavalry regiments, even if half of them were Guards, could not revolutionize the society of Calcutta. Still we are not inhospitable: and we are not, it may be added, destitute of hero-worship. We are well disposed to shower our civilities upon the Queen's regiments, when we know of what stuff they are made. We may not open our arms to welcome a new regiment, but we often dismiss an old one with all possible *éclat*. We may not always “entertain strangers”—it would be better perhaps if we did—but we have a good supply of hospitality

for our friends. If the "Cavalry officer" was the bearer of letters of introduction to residents in Calcutta and delivered those letters, to no purpose, he may have reason to complain of the inhospitality of the City of Palaces; but as he was only a fortnight amongst us, he can not reasonably complain that in that time he could not bring all the Ditch to his feet.

There may, however, have been peculiar circumstances to call forth this reproach; and as the "Cavalry officer" is not a grumbler—but a sensible, good-humored, agreeable fellow—we willingly believe that he has not, in this instance, complained without some reason for his querulousness. The *dust* is the next subject of complaint; and at this he may growl away at will, without a word of protest from us. Here is a passage from his account of the march to the upper provinces with some men of his own regiment and some detachments of other corps. It is not a bad sample of the pleasant graphic style, in which these volumes are written:—

"The dust on the road between Allahabad and Cawnpore passeth all understanding. The head of our column got along tolerably well, not sinking much above their knees in the impalpable soil; but the centre and rear staggered blindly onward, and not unfrequently downward, through the clouds raised by their predecessors, till they reached more substantial ground; others jostled against mud walls and trees, trod on their neighbour's toes, or, wandering from their comrades, groped their way out of the dense atmosphere, and only discovered the locality of the column by the glimpse of a few miller-like objects preceding the cloud.

Ten marches from Allahabad, over roads of the above description, and through a country which, being hid by a dusty screen, I seldom saw, and cannot therefore describe, brought us into the cantonments of Cawnpore, which appear to rise like a city in the desert. Not a tree was to be seen, and scarce a vestige of animal or vegetable life was presented to our view, as the morning broke upon us crossing the arid and almost trackless plain near Cawnpore. At length, when the sun arose, a dim line of conical objects was descried through the lurid atmosphere, and, at the same time, the roar of some half-dozen pieces of cannon, at practice on the plain, announced the vicinity of cantonments.

Here the men of the detachments were placed in barracks, and the officer's tents pitched in a compound, where the sun blazed fiercely enough to roast a live lobster in his shell, though, from our species of that animal, nothing was elicited beyond moisture and murmuring."—*Vol. I. pp. 20-21.*

The "Cavalry officer" had heard so much of the attractions of Meerut, that he was marvellously disappointed when he found himself there. He appears, however, not to have arrived before the luxuries of the hot winds were coming fairly into play; and then he followed the very sensible fashion, which he found reigning around him, and procured leave of absence to the Hills. The pages, which are devoted to a description of these favored localities are pleasantly written and not

wanting in information. But even there, he found it might be dangerous to take too many liberties with the climate; for he enjoyed his freedom to the utmost for some time, and was then prostrated by a fever. The description, which follows, is worth quoting as an illustration of the shadows of military life in the East. It is not very comfortable to be slung up in a *Satringhi*, and bumped down a hill, in a state of high fever:—

"I was preparing for the journey towards the source of the Ganges, when a most unwelcome visitor, in the shape of a fever, summoned me homewards. It was in vain to struggle any longer with my obstinate antagonist, so I yielded to the advice of my fellow-travellers, and turned my back for ever on these wild and glorious mountains. The floor-cloth of my tent was taken up, and the two corners bound together by ropes which also attached it to the tent pole. In this primitive conveyance I was borne by eight *Paharries* homewards to Landour.

The jolting I underwent, and the stumps of trees that left their numerous prints on my back, brought me in a few hours into a state bordering on delirium. On descending the last valley before reaching Landour, a severer thump than usual caused me to start up, and bless my tormentors; the pole of the litter snapped, and away I rolled, with my dusky companions, towards the lower regions. The circular motion soon made me so giddy, that I might have rolled unconsciously into the next world, but my guardian angel interposed a little copse of bamboos between me and it. When I had recovered the sense remaining to me, and peered out of the copse to ascertain the locale of my fellow rollers, it was with feelings of mortification I counted and found all present and sound except one, who had luckily broken his nose,

Two hours after this event, I found myself in bed, contemplating the surgeon, as he tried the point of his lancet, with the feelings which a pig evidently possesses and betrays on perceiving the butcher sharpening his knife, preparatory to the final gasp.

The fever was not unto death, as the reader (if there be such a person) will doubtless have concluded by the continuance of my narrative, and therefore as I cannot hope to excite much sympathy for my sufferings, or doubt as to the result, I had better recover at once, especially as that will occupy but a few words in the present instance, though it took me five weeks at that time.—*Vol. I. pp. 46-47.*

The "Cavalry officer's" regiment was ordered in 1838, to form part of the army of the Indus. This was a great thing for the young lancer—an opportunity at all events of travelling into strange lands at the Government expense and with all his companions around him. The soldier in India sees strange sights—he has glorious opportunity for enlarging his experiences. He may, any day, be studying the caves of Bameean or the Porcelain Tower of Nankin. Even such a scene as the following—a view of the Shikarpore Bazar—very cleverly sketched—is worth going a long way to carry off in one's journal:—

"On entering the busy scene, the first object that strikes the visitor is the pale, business-like money-changer, his anxious forehead bedaubed with the

white paint of his caste, peering over the pyramids of silver and copper heaped ostentatiously before him. Opposite, wrangling with half a dozen sepoys, in voices that might wake the dead, stands the noisy, energetic cloth-merchant, extolling his wares amidst the altercation with a fluency that would break the heart of a London Jew clothesman.

On each side, as you struggle onward, are squatted, in the peculiar Oriental fashion, vendors of dried fruits, seeds, spices, opium, *cum plurimis aliis*; but your good-natured Arab charger hafts in despair at the shop where yonder greasy cook is flourishing in his long, bony hands a wooden ladle, with which he bedaubs, in oily costume, a hissing mass of kabobs, or kidneys, which are emitting a savoury odour throughout that quarter of the bazar, and engaging the attention of an impenetrable cloud of half-famished-looking wretches watching the inviting process. On extricating your embarrassed steed from this difficulty, and moving up another bazaar, at right angles to the former, the ears are saluted with the stunning and monotonous clang proceeding from the anvils of armorers and blacksmiths, who continue their noisy labour with an assiduity that, conjointly with their hissing fires and diabolical countenances, give an unpleasant presentiment of the world below.

Speckle the scene with a number of savage-looking fellows in dingy dresses, with matchlocks slung over their shoulders, a pair of business-like pistols, and a greasy-handled knife stuck in their belt, whilst a broad, iron-handled tolwar brings up the rear, and you will complete the best picture I can afford of Shikarpore bazaar, with its lazy, lounging soldiery."—*Vol. I. pp. 96-97.*

A march through an enemy's country, with a blinding sun and a scarcity of water, is not one of the pleasantest components of military life in the East. There is a mixture of the terrible and the ridiculous—how often are they brought into close contact in the following passage:—

"On the 23rd of April, we had, according to the most prevalent conjectures, arrived within about fifty miles of Kandahar, and met no enemy. Having marched about twelve miles in the morning, we reached our appointed ground for halting about nine, A.M., when some assistants, in the quartermaster-general's department, reported to the brigadier of the cavalry that the water in camp would barely suffice for a brigade of infantry. We were accordingly ordered to remount, and proceed towards a river, which was supposed to be some ten miles' distant. Few who were present will ever forget that dreadful march. The reflection of the sun from the burning dust and barren hills was so dazzling, that many, who underwent it have never recovered their strength of sight. We had marched about ten miles, when the halt was sounded. It was mid-day; about twenty men of the leading regiment held together, the remainder of the cavalry-brigade were straggling over four or five miles of country in the rear; some were urging their jaded beasts with the spur, some leading them on foot, and others driving their chargers before them at the point of the lance or sword. By far the hottest thing I beheld that day, was the talented Colonel Ninny, purple with heat and anger, and seeking on object to vent it upon.

'Where the devil is your squadron, sir?' was demanded, in a voice of thunder, of a ponderous captain, with a face like a salamander, and a corporation like a hogshead.

'Four miles behind, sir, at least,' replied the hogshead, proud of having got so far along the road, (as well he might be.)

'How dare you, sir, give me such an answer, and leave your squadron behind?' cried the enraged genius.



Poor hogshcad, frothing with excitement, turned round in search of relief, and lighting on the officer in charge of his troop, poured forth the full tide of his indignation on him for not bringing the stragglers to the front.

‘And pray, sir, where is my troop?’

‘Here are the serjeant-major and two privates; the remainder vary from four to five miles in the rear; and as I could not carry them, they are left behind,’ replied the troop-leader.

‘There is no excuse,’ cried Ninny.

‘But, sir——’

‘Hold your tongue, and join your troop.’

This was conclusive, and broke up the agreeable interview.

When the sun had begun to decline upon the scene of suffering he had caused that day, the river was descried from the brow of a sandy knoll, winding its shining path through the sterile soil. Man and beast rushed in uncontrollable confusion to the waters, and quenched the fiery thirst under which both had suffered severely.”—*Vol. I. pp. 122-124.*

The “Cavalry officer’s” account of the “prison-murdering scene at Ghuzni;” and of Shah Shujah’s entrance to Kabul we are tempted to quote, but warned by the increasing bulk of our article are compelled to forbear. The latter passage concludes with an allusion to the new Affghan levies, which “might be seen on the Champ de Mars of Kabul, practising with laudable perseverance *the rigid miseries of the goose-step.*” The “Cavalry officer” often regales us with these tit-bits of description, sparkling up unexpectedly like a rocket tit on the horizon.

Our author seems to have had a high opinion of the knowing qualities of the Affghan horse-dealers, though he did not think much of their horses. The men, too, are bad jockeys—they can drive a bargain, but cannot run a race:—

“The only instance of an Affghan dealer being “done,” which I saw or heard of, occurred on our march towards Kabul.

A dealer, one morning, came into the Cavalry lines, bringing a showy looking nag for sale, which seemed a well-bred animal, and certainly cocked its tail and pawed the ground in a most imposing manner. J....., a young Dragoon officer, who was a very respectable jockey, asked the animal’s price. “Fifteen hundred rupees,” was the modest request; “and you have not a sounder or fleetier animal in the Feringhi camp,” added the Affghan. J..... quietly noticed one or two defects; and pointing to a little old chesnut Arab, who certainly looked as if he were the ghost of some departed racer, but whose muscle and sinews only required the hand upon them to be acknowledged, offered to ride him a mile against the Affghan on his vaunted steed. The dealer eagerly closed the wager for a hundred rupees, and the ground was selected, as nearly as it could be guessed, for the distance. The riders were soon up, (the Affghan apparently the heavier;) the word was given, and away they went, the Affghan leading at a tearing pace, flourishing his legs and whip, and chuckling and hallooing with delight. J..... saw there was no necessity for collaring him, the Affghan doing all that could be desired. When within fifty yards of the winning-post, J..... having waited steadily on his competitor until the sleek animal was beat, gave the gallant little Arab his head and the Affghan the go-by, telling him to take his

ascloßs fifteen hundred rupees' worth home, as he had beaten him with the slowest horse in the regiment."—*Vol. I. pp. 192-194.*

There is not a better description in the whole book—nay, indeed, we do not remember to have alighted on a better in any military narrative, than the following graphic account of the breaking up of a camp:—

"The breaking up of a long standing camp is a scene of no trifling bustle and confusion. The previous day is usually one of considerable trouble to those who have suffered their marching-establishment to get out of order; and when it is requisite to replace a camel or a bullock, the new-comer, even if found, (and that is generally at a ruinous price,) not unfrequently evinces the most marked repugnance to tents or bullock-trunks. Yet, however great the difficulty, the peremptory necessity of the habitation being moved before next morning, causes all to be prepared at sunset, either by a reduction of baggage, or increase of cattle, save the more provident campaigners, who rectify such deficiencies without delay. The earliest practicable hours are kept by all off duty, and two hours after sunset the camp, if well regulated, is quiet enough, unless a horse breaks loose and sets the whole brigade in a state of ferment; for all seem to take a deep interest in the progress of any mad animal who tears through the camp, with ropes and pegs flying in wild confusion about his heels. As night advances, even these stray madcaps betake themselves, to rest, and the quiet is only disturbed by the hourly tramp of patrols, or the challenge of a sentry. This gloom and stillness are suddenly dissipated by the shrill startling blast of the trumpet, wakening all around to consciousness and activity. The loud and continued neigh from the pickets, and the angry remonstrances of the camels, amidst the extensive buzz of human voices and barking of dogs, tell that man and brute are both aware of the time having come for their allotted duties. Sticks and dry grass raked into pyramids are sending forth volumes of smoke in one place, and in another are rising into high crackling fires, round which may be seen groups of dusky figures squatted together, inhaling their morning hukahs, or spreading their long bony hands to the flames, and listlessly regarding their more assiduous brethren occupied in striking the tents, or fitting loads on the backs of the beasts of burden. But think not, my lazy fire worshipper, this indolence is unobserved; the eye of the occupant of yonder tent is upon you: he advances softly towards the fire, his arm is raised, and the descending lattie causes a momentary scene of flight and confusion, which is immediately succeeded by a zealous attention to duty, proving the salutary force of the "*Argumentum ad baculum*." Although this is not an orthodox, logical, or even legal argument, it is, nevertheless, frequently used in India, and is generally conclusive. Next morning, the voice, unaccompanied by manual exercise, produce the desired effect.

The loads being packed, and all the tents, save three or four lazy stragglers, having disappeared, the second trumpet sends its shrill echoes through the lines, and gives warning that the treadmill will soon be at work. Beware of that camel's mouth gaping close to your hand in the dark, or he will spoil it for holding a rein or a sabre; and beware the treacherous tent-peg, which lurks in savage gloom for the shins of the unwary. "It is no use cursing the peg. Why did you not get out of its way when you found it was not inclined to get out of yours?" cries a facetious neighbour, as you stoop to rub the lacerated shin, and narrowly escape being trampled by an elephant, who is hustling off with a few hundred weight of canvas and tent poles hanging about him.

The third trumpet and a cup of *boiling* coffee generally accompany each other, if your khansamah belong to the right Dean Swift's breed; and it is no punishment to insist on his drinking it himself—the man would swallow a cup of cayenne and fire, without winking.

The troops are formed in dusky masses on their alarm-posts; the commanding-officer rides along the line; the word of command is given, and passed down the squadrons; the welcome note for the march is heard, and the tramping of the steeds raises an impenetrable cloud of dust around the column, as we cheerfully turn our backs on Kabul, most probably for ever; the band prophetically striking up, "Ha til mi tulidh," or something which I mistook for it.—*Vol. I. pp. 217-221.*

This is really a clever bit of writing; and its truthfulness lies on the surface.

As the Cavalry officer has now turned his back upon Kabul, we leave him for a little while. His regiment was not engaged in those glorious operations under Generals Pollock and Nott, which dispersed, with a flood of light, the shadows which had descended upon the military renown of the English in the East. But we shall return anon to his volumes, the second of which relating chiefly to the war on the Sutlej remains untouched before us. In the meanwhile we purpose to devote a little space to the journal of Captain Neill, whose regiment was concerned, and most nobly concerned, in the operations of the second war in Afghanistan—thus preserving where we have to deal with historical events some faint show of chronological order.

Captain Neill's narrative has been too long before the public to warrant us in extracting largely from the work for mere purposes of entertainment. It is a pleasant, soldierly, unaffected record of events—and often sufficiently suggestive—the 40th regiment was stationed at Deesa, when it received orders to prepare for active service. The order was no sooner received than one of the greatest annoyances of military life in the East presented itself, with every possible aggravation, to the officers of the corps. They had been compelled to buy houses and were now compelled to sell them—but purchasers were not to be found. The remarks, which Captain Neill makes upon this subject, are worthy of attention: but we must deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting them.

The *dust*—always a nuisance to the soldier in the East—was found in Sindh to be almost unendurable:—

"One of the great sources of annoyance and preventive or rather destroyer of comfort in Sindh, was the dust, which was so penetrating, that no measures we could adopt were sufficient for its exclusion; so dense and continuous were those sand-clouds that for hours together I have been unable to see the nearest tent, which was pitched at not more than ten or fifteen yards from me. The thermometer during the *dust* season always ranges high,

and the excessive heat inducing what would be professionally termed a *healthy* moisture from the articular pores, facilitates and encourages the adhesion of the dust to the face and form, adding neither to the comfort nor elegance of the person."—Page 50.

Moving up the gallant 40th, by a single march, such as is only performed on paper to Kandahar, we meet Captain Neill, under the command of that distinguished veteran, General Nott. Those were not the safest possible quarters, in the memorable year 1842. A stroll from camp, in those days, often cost a man his life. Captain Neill says, that "Fives-playing by day, and turning out by night" were the ordinary employments of his regiments in those. There were, however occasionally, darker episodes:—

"A striking case of the perversity of human nature and the love of acting in opposition to the orders of superiors, which met with a quick and fearful punishment, occurred about this time. Four young soldiers of the 40th went unarm'd a considerable distance from camp after breakfast; at dinner parade they were absent, and during the afternoon continued so; at length some villagers came in and reported that the bodies of four Europeans were lying a few miles from camp. They had, it appeared, been seen by one of the enemy's patrols, who coming upon them, found it of course an easy matter to overpower them. They were sacrificed to their own folly; their heads which were severed from their bodies were carried as trophies to the enemy's camp.....on one occasion during the month of March, I observed a knot of men standing a short distance from the officer's barracks in cantonments, and soon after, I saw a man taken to the hospital who had received a severe sabre cut from an Affghan. Meeting a son of Erin, I asked him the cause of the excitement, when he replied, "O, Sir, one of them fellows has just cut down a lad of ours, and we have been tapping the villain on the head till he was dead," and sure enough when I did go to where the soldiers were, I found lying in the road a dead Affghan, one of the finest specimens of mankind I ever looked upon."—Page 188-189.

We come now to the more important historical portion of Captain Neill's work, and must deviate somewhat from our original intentions, by noticing certain passages in detail. We may not again have so good an opportunity of pointing out some grave errors, which have crept into this interesting work. With reference to the memorable march upon Kabul in 1842, Captain Neill observes:—

"14th September.—It was a subject of great regret to us all, that General Pollock had deemed it *expedient* to move on to Kabul before our arrival there, we having expected from the arrangements entered into, if not made by him, with General Nott, that both armies were to enter that city on the same day."—Page 263.

Now the case is not very fairly put by Captain Neill in this passage. There was an "arrangement," it is true; and that it was not carried out may have been the fault of one of the two generals; but that one was not General Pollock. The

"arrangement" was that the two forces should meet at Kabul on the 15th of September. It surely was not Pollock's fault that on that day Nott had not arrived. This could not be; unless, indeed, General Pollock, who fixed the day for the meeting at Kabul, did not give his brother general sufficient time to achieve the march from Kandahar. But how stands the case? Sir John Keane in 1839 had made the journey from Kandahar to Kabul in *twenty-nine* marches. General Nott left Kandahar on the 10th of August, and reached Kabul on the 17th of September. He was therefore thirty-nine days on the road. This, supposing that he could not have started a day earlier than he did, allowed ten days for halts and incidental delays. Sir John Keane's army was before Ghuzni from the 21st to the 30th of July, and yet was not more than forty-one days on the road. It can, hardly, therefore be asserted that General Nott had not time to make his way to Kabul by the 15th of September. Nor can it be asserted that General Pollock hastened forward with the view of outstripping his brother general. He left Jullalabad on the 20th of August and reached Gundamuk on the 23d. There he remained till the 7th of August to allow time for, and to receive tidings of, the advance of General Nott. On the night of the 6th, or early on the morning of the 7th, he received those tidings; and then he moved forward, in pursuance of his original intentions. On the 13th, he fought a hard battle with Akbar Khan at Tezin; and on the 15th he was before Kabul. Captain Neill enters in his journal, under date *September 15*:—"Received the cheering intelligence to-day that 'some of the prisoners had been recovered, and were now in 'General Pollock's camp, who had taken possession of the 'Balla Hissar.'" But it was not until the 16th that General Pollock took possession of the Balla Hissar. On the 17th General Nott arrived at Kabul; and Captain Neill made the following entry in his journal:—

"17th September.—Shortly before reaching camp General Nott received a note from General Pollock, congratulating him on his arrival at Kabul and mentioning the circumstance of Sir R. Shakespear's having proceeded to Bameean in the hope of obtaining the release of the prisoners. Owing to the severe indisposition of General Nott, General Pollock waived ceremony as senior officer, and on the morning after our arrival, came over to the "Kandahar Camp:" where he was received with a guard of honor and the usual salute. The interview between the two illustrious chiefs lasted for about two hours. It afterwards transpired that in alluding to Sir Richmond Shakespear's having moved to the release of the prisoners, General Pollock suggested that General Nott should despatch a Brigade, with some cavalry and guns towards Bameean to act in concert with Sir R. Shakespear, in the event of that gallant officer succeeding in rescuing the

prisoners—to this our General objected, on the principle that to the folly of despising our enemies and sending out small parties of troops, many of our disasters in Afghanistan were to be attributed, and *he offered to move with the whole of the Kandahar Division next morning*, should General Pollock wish. At the same time General Nott represented that his troops had made a long and arduous march from Kandahar of upwards of three hundred miles—it might almost be said without a halt—those days on which they did not march being employed in some fatigue duty—and he suggested that a portion of General Pollock's force, which had not traversed more than one-third of the distance, and had already rested three days at Kabul, should be despatched on this duty—General Nott also expressed surprise that when an intention existed of sending a part of his force on the duty in question, such intention had not been communicated, while he was at Urghundi, which was on the way to Bamceen, instead of bringing it first to Kabul.

The conduct of General Nott has been much canvassed, and a degree of censure has been implied for his not having immediately on hearing General Pollock's views, put a brigade in motion to secure the return of the prisoners; nor were there wanting the malevolently disposed who judging of others by their own mean spirit, inferred that his objection to march arose either from indifference to the fate of the prisoners, or a morbid feeling of jealousy that Kabul had been occupied by General Pollock's army before the arrival of the Kandahar division—such insinuations are as false as they are unworthy, and the shafts of malice which were thus hurled at the reputation of this distinguished Captain, fell harmless and contemned.

To the fact of General Pollock having declined to permit the whole Kandahar division moving, and finally decided on despatching a Brigade from his own force, we owe our deprivation of the honor of proceeding to the assistance of the prisoners, a matter of the deepest regret to the gallant Nott and his devoted army."—*P.* 256-258.

We have far too high an opinion of Captain Neill to believe that this passage contains one intentional mis-statement. But nevertheless, it is full of mis-statements. Such a conversation as is here said to have occurred, at the interview between the two chiefs, never took place. That the journalist set down the leading items of it, as they reached him,—or, in his own words, as they "transpired"—we do not, for a moment, doubt; but we are enabled, upon the best possible authority, to state that he has been grossly misinformed. The real facts are briefly these:—

The note alluded to by Captain Neill was written by General Pollock and entrusted to the charge of Lieutenant (now Major) Mayne, one of that gallant band of "illustrious" officers, whose exploits at Jullalabad had made all India ring with acclamations. With a few troopers this young officer rode out to General Nott's camp, and delivered the letter of which he was the bearer. Neither before, nor since, we will undertake to say, has Major Mayne been sentenced to perform so disagreeable a duty. We draw a veil over what passed upon this occasion. It is not necessary to the reputation of the

statements in Capt. Neill's book that we should dwell upon the circumstances of the meeting between Lieut. Mayne and General Nott. The letter was, as Capt. Neill describes; but it contained also a proposal that General Nott should send out a Brigade for the protection of the prisoners, then on their way to the British camp under the escort of Sir Richmond Shakespear. To this letter General Nott sent another in reply. It ran to the following effect;—that the Kandahar troops had made a long march of upwards of 300 miles; that they had been continually marching for six months, and required rest for a few days; that his cattle also required rest; that he had lost twenty-nine camels, the day before, and expected a double loss on that day; that he was getting short of supplies for Europeans and Natives, and saw little probability of obtaining a sufficient quantity at Kabul: and that he had no money.—That he had so many sick and wounded, he feared great inconvenience might ensue, if any unnecessary operations took place; that if he remained he expected to lose half his cattle, and that retiring would be very difficult.—[General Nott arrived with more than 8,000 camels. General Pollock had rather more than 3,000 camels and about seventy elephants]—General Nott then went on to say that in his opinion the sending of a small detachment would be followed by disaster, and that no doubt Mahommed Akbar Khan and Shumsudin and other chiefs were uniting—that he hourly expected to hear that Sir R. Shakespear was added to the number of prisoners, and that, he understood that 1,200 men of the enemy had gone in that direction. He then repeated his opinion that the despatch of a small detachment would be followed by disaster and ruin, and after a partial recapitulation of the above statements and opinions, added, that if General Pollock ordered his forces to be divided, he should have nothing to do but to obey; but that he respectfully protested against the measure. He then concluded by saying that he was prevented by ill health from paying his respects to General Pollock in that officer's camp.

Upon this General Pollock, cheerfully accepting the plea of ill health put forth, by the Kandahar General, repaired to Nott's camp. He was received with all honors, and the two chiefs breakfasted together. Pollock again pointed out the necessity of sending a force to the protection of the prisoners. Nott repeated the arguments advanced in his letter. After breakfast, Pollock quitted the tent of his brother-general, to make some other visits; but, returning shortly afterwards, the conversation was resumed. Nott then said, that the prisoners were not named in his despatches, and that he believed the

Government had "thrown them overboard." No new arguments were advanced, and in the afternoon Pollock returned to his own camp and made arrangements to send a detachment of his own force to escort the prisoners to the Head-quarters of the British army.

We may leave it to our readers to estimate the cogency of General Nott's arguments—remarking only that the Brigade he was desired to send would have consisted of one European (H. M.'s) regiment of foot, three Native Infantry corps, a regiment of Cavalry, and the proper complement of guns; and that General Nott himself (*Blue Book*—Page 314, No. 377) declared that he would at any time lead 1,000 sepoys against 5,000 Affghans. The arguments advanced may have been sound—the description given of the condition of the Kandahar force at every point correct; but the statement that General Nott offered to move next morning, the whole of his force, for the protection of the prisoners, is utterly without foundation. No such offer was ever made; and, therefore, no such offer was ever declined. Neither is it true that it was suggested by the Kandahar general that a portion of Pollock's force should be sent. No such suggestion was made to the latter general; and no surprise was expressed in his presence that his wishes were not conveyed to General Nott at Urghundi. General Nott may have made use of such expressions in the presence of his own friends; but nothing of the kind took place at the interview described by Captain Neill. The facts are precisely as we have stated them. The inference is sufficiently obvious. The Kandahar force was deprived of the honor of rescuing the prisoners, not by General Pollock but by General Nott. The privilege was offered to the latter general and declined. He could scarcely have offered to march out with his whole force after stating, as he did, in writing, that neither man nor beast was in a condition to move at all; nor could he have proposed to General Pollock to send out a detachment of his division after descanting on the danger of sending out a detachment of his own.

A little further on Captain Neill observes:—

"7th October.—The halt which the combined armies of Pollock and Nott had made at Kabul, was not only much longer than we had anticipated on our arrival at the capital, but was entirely against the wish and advice of General Nott. This long delay was however rendered necessary by the march of General McCaskill's division to Istaliff, an expedition, the judiciousness and expediency of which the gallant Commander of the Kandahar Division did not admit."—Page 267.

We believe that we may say, with reference to this passage,



that General Nott's advice was neither solicited nor received. Some letters relative to a supposed combination of the chiefs, and the danger of exposing the army to such a movement were, it is true, written by that officer. And to this Captain Neill may refer. But General Pollock had his own, and never sought the advice of his brother. General Nott may not have admitted the expediency of the despatch of McCaskill's division to Istaliff; but the judiciousness of the movement is now generally acknowledged. Amin-ullah was at Istaliff, with 12,000 men. If he had not been driven from his position and his troops dispersed, he would have hung upon the rear of the returning force, along the entire distance from Kabul to Peshawar. Had there been no other reason for the attack upon Istaliff, this alone would have been sufficient to establish the "judiciousness" of the proceeding. For our own parts, there is scarcely anything in the whole history of Affghan war, upon which we can look back with greater satisfaction, whether we view it in the light of political justice or political expediency.

And, again, under the same date, we find it written:—

"7th October.—Before leaving however it was requisite that 'a lasting proof of the British power should be left in Kabul—consistent with British humanity,' and on the 9th of October commenced the demolition by order of General Pollock, of one of the bazars of Kabul. To this work of destruction General Nott was decidedly averse, and he most strenuously urged the propriety of razing the Balla Hissar."—Page 268.

Now, General Nott may have urged the propriety of razing the Balla Hissar, but he never urged such a measure upon General Pollock. No communications upon this subject passed between the two generals. "The propriety of razing the Balla Hissar" we hold to be extremely questionable; and it is worthy of remark, in confirmation of our opinion, that at a meeting held in June last, at the "Oriental Club," in honor of Sir George Pollock—a meeting at which were present the most distinguished and experienced civil and military "servants of the Company then in England—the highest testimony was borne to the political sagacity displayed by the General, throughout all his dealings with the Affghans, and most especially in the determination, upon which he acted, of *sparing the Balla Hissar*.

Further on, describing the return of the victorious armies to the provinces, Captain Neill observes:—

"13th October.—Halted at Buthak to admit of General Pollock's division, which marched this morning clearing the Pass before ours. Lord Ellenborough having ordered that General Nott, with the Kandahar Division,

should have the post of honor in the rear in withdrawing from the enemy's country."—Page 271.

We apprehend that this is altogether a mistake, though we do not question the good faith in which it is uttered. The truth is that Lord Ellenborough never intended that General Pollock should advance upon Kabul. He intended that he should occupy the Passes between Jellalabad and the capital, whilst the Kandahar force took possession of the latter place. If this intention had been carried out, as a matter of course, the rear would have been, *ipso facto*, the place of General Nott; and so far, but no farther, it may be said that the post of honour in the rear was assigned to the Kandahar division by order of Lord Ellenborough. General Nott would then have been in the rear, and in the rear he would have remained. As it was, the Post—whether the post of honor or not—was assigned to him by General Pollock.

Our object, in all these remarks, being the very legitimate one of setting before our readers the entire truth—not of drawing any invidious comparisons, or elevating one general at the expense of the other—we have freely admitted that it was in no wise the intention of the Governor-General that the force under General Pollock should advance upon the capital. General Nott may therefore have considered that by an unauthorised movement on the part of his senior officer, he was deprived of an honour which Lord Ellenborough had designed to bestow upon him. And it was only natural that such a thought should have chafed him. The honor of planting the British ensign on the Balla Hissar of Kabul which might have been his, fell to the lot of another. General Nott had rendered such services to the state, and his division, by a series of such gallant and successful operations, had earned for itself the admiration of the world, that we might well regret to see any honours wrested from its grasp. But we can not blame General Pollock. The movement upon Kabul may have been unauthorised; but it was not unjustified. Lord Ellenborough was not aware of the nature of the country between Jellalabad and Kabul; and the difficulty of maintaining a large force (the cattle especially) in those barren passes, or he would never have expected General Pollock's division there to have awaited the pleasure of General Nott. Besides, it is to be borne in mind, that General Pollock was the senior officer, and that having a certain amount of discretion vested in him, it was scarcely to be expected that he should suffer the Kandahar army to enter Kabul alone. It was due to the army he commanded that it

should be ordered to advance. It is to be borne in mind that it was never General Pollock's intention to anticipate General Nott; but that both divisions should enter Kabul simultaneously on the 15th of September.

Further on, in Captain Neill's Journal, we find the following entry:—

"We all hoped that our General would follow the example of General Pollock, who while at Tezin had burst two of our eighteen pounders, that he had borrowed, the bullocks having become quite exhausted. These animals, it was said, he handed over to the Commissariat, and they were afterwards killed and issued to the troops. If true this was unkind, considering that we had brought them from Kandahar."—*Page 299.*

This is mere camp gossip. There was always an abundance of fresh provisions; and never any occasion to fall back upon a team of used up gun-bullocks. Any Commissariat officer would have given Captain Neill information upon these points. Exhaustion is certainly not favorable to beef, but the meat qualities of gun-bullocks, under ordinary circumstances, are not to be despised. It was Sir Edward Barnes, we believe, who said that he could wish for nothing better than to be compelled to eat his gun-bullocks on service, for that then he would have an opportunity of horsing every battery in his army.

As to the bursting of the eighteen-pounders, they were required by General Pollock, for a specific purpose (at Tezin) and this accomplished,—there being no further use for them, the guns were destroyed. At Jellalabad General Nott expressed a wish to have the bullocks placed at his disposal, and they were all sent to him. Subsequently General Pollock was anxious to bring down to the provinces, a large trophy gun, taken at Jellalabad, and known as the "kazi"—but it was left behind. "At the top of the ascent 'Lundeh Khana,' " writes Captain Neill, "lying in a ravine was the kazi, a large gun similar to that we had destroyed at Ghuzni: it had been taken from Jellalabad, but abandoned by General McCaskill's brigade from want of means to carry it on." We believe that not means, but something else was wanting—but this is a long story, and it is not necessary that, on the present occasion, we should enter upon a recital of it. We wish, as much as possible, to avoid such debateable ground. But we have seen an announcement at least of a second edition of Captain Neill's book; and there is little doubt that the laudatory comments of one of the leading European quarterlies have done something to obtain for it an extensive circulation. It is not one of the least of our many objects to collect in this

journal materials for authentic history and to neutralise the errors which have obtained currency through the medium of cotemporary narratives, often hastily written, and submitted to the world without after consideration and revision.

We now return to the "Cavalry officer;" and in due historical sequence, break ground upon the banks of the Sutlej. At Mudki and Ferozshah his regiment was not present; but it was *pars magna* of the victory of Aliwal. Of the former engagements the author gives us a clearly-written narrative; but he does not, as in the after-recital of the affair of Aliwal, write with the graphic fidelity of an eye-witness. Here is a passage relative to the Buddiwal retreat, which shows that the "Cavalry officer" is too honest a writer to give a false coloring to that affair. It is better, as we observed on a former occasion, to set the naked truth at once before the world, and let posterity know the worst of it. A slight reverse becomes one of a gigantic character, when we "can not discern the shape thereof:"—

"Thus gradually retiring across the plain, and placing on the ammunition carts, or on horseback the unfortunate men, who were wounded by the incessant cannonade to which the Sikhs subjected the force, we reached a distance of about two miles from Buddiwal, when the enemy ceased to advance.

When our retreat was first commenced, nearly all the officers conjectured it was Sir Harry's object to draw the Sikh forces well out of their position, and attack them in the open plain; but as we continued to retire, it soon became evident that no action was to take place, and we were compelled to receive the numerous kicks which were bestowed upon us with all the philosophy that could be mustered. "Now we are going at 'em—now for it, lads!" burst from the ranks on many occasions, when the squadrons faced about and confronted the foe; but the fatal "threes about," gradually diminished these hopes, and at last the homely observation of "By G—, if we are not bolting from a parcel of niggers!" called something between a blush and a smile to many a cheek.

About sunset, the troops arrived before the half-burned cantonments of Ludiana, and bivouacked on the plain. Hardly a tent or a native follower made their appearance in our gloomy lines, and many a bitter lamentation was vented over departed comforts and luxuries seized by the ruthless Sikhs. Nearly all the hospital stores had fallen into the hands of the Philistines, which was a heavy misfortune; but we dwelt with some satisfaction on the probability of their being mistaken for wines and liqueurs, in which event we anticipated, with much glee, the effects likely to ensue, and only regretted we had no chance of witnessing the commotions which would prevail in the Sikh camp on the auspicious occasion."—*Vol. II pp. 150-152.*

"Late in the evening," adds the Cavalry officer, "a few camp followers and a very few baggage animals came straggling into the lines, having made a detour and avoided the plunderers ..... The actual loss at Buddiwal has never been published, as a great portion of these reported missing, had escaped to

Sobraon, and six or seven were carried prisoners to Lahore. The total amount of killed, wounded and missing were between three and four hundred, but more than half this number subsequently made their appearance. The report, which prevailed in India, that the losses were amalgamated in one return with those killed at Aliwal is a stupid fabrication."

The next passage, which we have marked for quotation, is descriptive of one of those scenes—the sad *sequelæ* of a glorious action—which are, indeed, the darkest of the many dark shadows of military life:—

"On the afternoon of the 29th of January, the field-hospital, with the wounded men, was removed into Ludiana. I rode over to see a brother-officer who had been seriously wounded, and shall never forget the sad scene of human suffering presented to view. Outside the hospital tents were laid the bodies of those who had recently died; many in the contorted positions in which the rigid hand of death had fixed them; others more resembling sleep than death, had calmly passed away, struck down in full vigour and robust bodily health, when the human frame, it was natural to suppose, would have struggled more fiercely with its arch enemy; but the groans of the sufferers undergoing painful surgical operations were more grievous to the senses than the sight of those who needed no mortal aid. Pain, in all its degrees and hideous varieties was forcibly portrayed on every square yard of earth which surrounded me; and passing from sufferer to sufferer, I felt, or fancied I felt, each patient's eye following wistfully the movements of such fortunate visitants as were exempted from the services of the knife or lancet, and sometimes dwelling reproachfully on the useless spectator of their sufferings. I felt it was almost a sacrilege to remain in such a place without being useful; but the medical officers and hospital-assistants so zealously fulfilled every minute detail for the relief of their patients, that sympathy was the only offering we could present to our stricken comrades."

Whilst raising the canvas door of a dark tent which I was entering, I stumbled, and nearly fell over the leg of some one stretched across the entrance. When I turned to make apologies to the owner; I found it had none, but, on a pallet beside it, lay its former possessor, who had just undergone amputation; beyond him lay a dead artilleryman; and further on, amongst stumps of arms protruding from the pallets, lay my wounded brother-officer, who appeared to suffer much more from the surrounding objects than from his own severe personal injuries. But the attention bestowed on those wounded at Aliwal, differed much from a preceding occasion, where the hospital stores and conveniencies had been so far out marched, that only two rush-lights were procurable to illuminate the hospital."—*Vol. II. pp. 183-185.*

With one more extract we must conclude our notice of the "Cavalry officer's" interesting volume; it relates to the gallant Sirmur Battalion and the fall of Captain Fisher at Sobraon. A better illustration could scarcely be afforded of the last scene of a soldier's life:—

"Under General Gilbert's command were the Sirmur battalion, which had joined the force at Ludiana, and these fine little Gurkhas gave evidence that they had not degenerated in military prowess since the memorable Nepalese war. The corps is composed of riflemen, carrying in their girdles

a crooked knife, (termed a "kukery,") to give the coup-de-grace to the wounded, and they used the hideous instrument with unaccountable zeal against the Sikhs. As they were known to possess relatives and connexions amongst the Khalsa troops, it had been a matter of doubt with many that their hands would have been amongst the foremost in the field, but the battle-cry roused their hereditary ardour, and overcame every other consideration. Their gallant leader, Captain J. Fisher, whose exploits with the rifle are well known to those who have been his companions in the hunting-fields of the Dhoon, had just surmounted the parapet, when he perceived a battery, not sixty yards distant from him, which continued to gall the assailants with incessant rounds of grape. Seizing a rifle from the hands of one of his Gurkhas, Fisher rested his arm on the parapet, and the next second pierced with a rifle-ball, the artilleryman, who was about to apply the slow match to the touch-hole of a cannon. Receiving the loaded rifles from the hands of the soldiers, who handed them up to their commander, he continued to deal rapid destruction amongst the Sikh golundauze.

A party of Sikh infantry, who were placed in defence of the battery, at last perceived the marksman, who was quickly silencing their cannon, and, pouring a volley in that direction, the gallant soldier rolled back amongst the corpses which strewed the exterior of the works.

The field of Sobraon did not bear on its crimsoned-surface a soldier more deeply regretted by all who knew him than the fallen chief of the Sirmur Battalion."—*Vol. II. pp. 233-235.*

Having followed the "Cavalry officer" to the end of his narrative, we would recommend the student to go on to Kote Kangra with Colonel Jack. The Colonel tells his story in a series of clever drawings, gracefully inscribed to Colonel Wheeler, whose military talent "by calling forth the energies of all under him, and adopting every available means to ensure success, has secured many great though bloodless victories: victories which if less loudly acclaimed by the public than those more dearly bought are of higher moral value." The views are six in number and represent the "Crossing of the River Beas"—the "Crossing of the River Guj"—"Part of the Road by which the guns were taken up above the town of Mulchera"—the "Mountains round Kote Kangra"—the "Gilt temple in the Town of Mulchera;" and lastly the "Fortress of Kote Kangra." They are large sized colored lithographs, thoroughly Eastern in character; and tell the story with much distinctness. It was indeed a memorable mark—such a road for heavy ordnance! Look at the second and third plates; and study the acclivity. And yet Colonel Jack assures us—and we believe him—that the steepness of the ascent has been under-drawn; he was so unwilling to give even an appearance of exaggeration to the picture. "With our heavy guns," writes the artist-author, "we had to cross the river 'Guj' no less than fifty-six times between the Beas and 'Kote Kangra; and the last day we crossed it, rain having fallen on the hills, it swelled to a roaring torrent. Frequent-

ly the guns got completely fixed between enormous boulders of rock, so as to defy all the ingenuity of both artillery officers and engineers. When the united strength of men, horses, and bullocks, added by two elephants dragging had failed, one fine old mukhna, (a male elephant, with tushes like a female) was always called for, coming forward with an air of pitying superiority—his looking seeming to express clearly “What; can’t you do it without me?”—he would look carefully at the gun in every direction, and when he had found the point where his power could be best applied; he put his head to it and gave it a push, as if to weigh the position; then followed another mightier push; and if that did not suffice, a third, given with tremendous force, almost invariably raised the gun out of its fixed position and sent it on. He would then retire with the air of Coriolanus, when he said to Aufidius, ‘Alone I did it!’—a more valuable ally than Coriolanus, because he said nothing and was always willing.”—The enemy thought that the heavy guns could not be brought up; and relying on their security, they held out until they discovered their mistake. “The Brigadier,” says Col. Jack, “was recommended to leave his eighteen-pounders on the other side of the River Beas; he, however, determined to take them on as far as possible; and by extraordinary management and exertion he succeeded in taking them all the way. They turned out as the European soldiers quaintly remarked to be the really influential *politicals*.” The sight of them was enough for the enemy, who succumbed just in time to save their fortress from demolition. We wish that Colonel Jack had written more—but as we have before said, his “six views” tell the story plainly enough; and very valuable bits of history they are.

The last work on our list is a German publication, which only made its appearance after we had proceeded some way in our present article, and to which, therefore, we can not devote all the space and the attention which otherwise it would have demanded at our hands. The author of the *Briefe aus Indien* was Dr. Hoffmeister, the medical attendant of Prince Waldemar of Prussia. He fell, on the plains of Ferozshah, and obtained for himself a niche in the memorable despatch of the Commander-in-Chief, written after that great battle. The work, which consists of a series of letters and a few extracts from a journal written in India derives a melancholy interest from the circumstances of the early death of the accomplished writer. It is but a slender volume, published of course under great disadvantages, and in no wise, a mark

for the criticism of a generous reviewer. Still there are many passages worthy of translation, and some which, having translated, we may enrich the present article by transferring to our pages—the more especially as we shall be the first to introduce the work to the Indian reader.

A brief biographical memoir of Dr. Hoffmeister is prefixed to his work, we translate the words of the editor:—

“Werner Hoffmeister was born in Brunswick, on the 14th of March 1819. His parents resided there until the year 1827, when his father who had been until then preacher to the parish of St. Peter, was transferred to Wolfenbüttel as member of the Consistory. Werner's childhood was passed in the unruffled quiet of a comfortable home, until the death of his father in 1832; but the natural cheerfulness of the boy soon overcame the pain of that affliction.

From early youth his chief delight was in the fresh and varied charms of nature. He was fond of roaming with his young companions through the neighbouring forests and mountains to collect plants and insects, or his time was passed in tending and feeding a number of living creatures with which he peopled the house and offices. Sparrows and titmice, young jackdaws and owls taken from the church steeple, mice and bats, were the principal constituents of his menagerie. An owl that had had its legs broken, through the brutality of a steeple warder, was the subject of his first chirurgical experiments; and the poor thing's sufferings went near to extinguish the inclination he had already conceived to adopt the medical profession.

Amidst these occupations the regular education which his quick capacity eagerly craved, was by no means neglected. The ancient languages, and in an especial manner, mathematics and geography, inspired him with a lively interest; but a love for natural history still continued to be his ruling predilection, and was strengthened and promoted by the kindred tastes of an elder brother, and by the hints and counsels of a scientific friend. The diligent perusal of books of travels and frequent excursions in the neighbouring Hartz mountains, gradually extended the circle of his contemplations, and heightened his desire to see more remote regions and become acquainted with their peculiar nature. Already it was a subject of painful reflection to him that the future seemed to offer so little prospect of gratifying this his most longing desires.

In the last year of his school-course he had resolved on applying himself to the study of medicine, and after his mother's death, by way of preparing himself for the university, he entered the “Collegium Carolinum” of Brunswick, when he became a close and diligent student of anatomy, botany, and mineralogy. In the spring of 1839, he left Brunswick to begin his academic career in the university of Berlin, which, in addition to its superior reputation, afforded him opportunity to enjoy the advice and aid of his uncle, Professor Lichtenstein, to whom he was mainly indebted for the guidance of his studies. He profited with equal diligence by the lectures of Müller, Witscherlich, Kunth and Weiss, and with his increasing knowledge grew his love for the department of science he had chosen.

From Berlin he proceeded to the university of Bonn, where the habits of academic life and the society of a large circle of friends enabled his lively cheerful character to develop its full bloom and vigour. Numerous journeys in the districts about the valley of the Rhine, Switzerland, the South of France and Holland, afforded ample gratification to his appetite



for foreign scenes, and enabled him greatly to extend and enrich the compass of his scientific acquirements. He made diligent use of scientific establishments, museums, hospitals and clinical courses, and profited much by the acquaintance he made in Montpellier with Marcel de Serres, Lallemand, and Kuinoltz. His medical knowledge was enlarged and consolidated in Bonn by his academic and private intercourse with Nasse, Harless and Von Ibell, by copious experiment and actual practice.

In like manner were spent the last years of his student course in the Berlin Academy, to which he returned in Michaelmas 1841; but the sudden death of a younger sister, to whom he was greatly attached, was a stunning blow to his mind. His spirits were for a while quite broken, and he sank into a brooding melancholy, shunning every recreation, and pursuing his professional studies from little else than a sense of duty. He was now attending the clinical course of Busch, and Dr. Behrendt's orthopedic establishment, and little as the details of practical medicine were adapted to restore his former serenity, he applied himself to them with great industry and self-command. A considerable portion of his time was simultaneously devoted to a work on earthworms, written first as a thesis for his doctor's degree, and afterwards enlarged and published in a separate form. The lecturers of Schönlein, Wagner, and Hecker gave renovated strength to his love for science and completed his undergraduate course.

Thoroughly grounded on the principles of medical science and practice, and furnished with a copious store of knowledge in the department of natural science, he left Berlin in the autumn of 1843, after taking his doctor's degree, and set out for London and Paris. He remained three months in the former capital, where he employed the time not only in improving his scientific acquirements, but also in seeking an opportunity to visit India as surgeon to a ship. His efforts having been unsuccessful, he tried to obtain an appointment in Paris as superintendent and physician of a colony in Malacca; but this scheme too failed, after having nearly reached the point of fulfilment. Disappointed and desponding he returned to his native land, where fortune, that seemed to have wholly forsaken him, suddenly gratified his wishes in an unexpected manner. His Royal Highness Prince Waldemar of Prussia was preparing for his tour in the East, Dr. Hoffmeister was recommended by Humboldt, Schönlein, and Lichtenstein to his Royal Highness, and received by him as his medical attendant. In that honourable and desirable post the longing desires he had cherished from his boy-hood upwards received the amplest fulfilment. His varied and sound acquirements, his youthful buoyancy of mind and his vigorous constitution seemed to warrant the most favourable hopes for the prosperous and useful issue of his travels. Thus with the most cheering prospects of the immediate and remote future he left his native country, to find at the end of his long journey—when its perils and hardship had been successfully overcome,—an early grave in a far off quarter of the globe.

It is well known that Prince Waldemar, under the travelling title of "Count Ravensberg," came out, with a few attendants, by the overland route, visited Ceylon and Madras, and then came on to Calcutta. We are sorry to say that they did not greatly enjoy their sojourn in the last-named place. Dr. Hoffmeister thus describes the "City of Palaces:—

"We were received in the palace of the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, a regal mansion, finer than the residence of many a German Sovereign. Calcutta is a city with which I should not like to make a lengthened ac-

quaintance. It is a medley of the most sumptuous palaces and the most wretched bamboo hovels; and the population consists of elements no less dissimilar. Here you have red brown coolies or palanquin bearers, running about all day with the heavy pole on their bare shoulders, and dirty Mahomedans driving their carts made of bamboos, clumsily tied together, with creaking solid wooden wheels, and drawn by a pair of shabby oxen; yonder go the most elegant equipages to be seen in the world, elegant ladies within them, and on the outside Indian liveries of the most beautiful stuffs glittering with gold; the horses too are of the finest Arab blood;—the greatest gorgeousness and the greatest poverty, the greatest pride and the greatest servility. The etiquette of the fashionable world exercises a despotic sway in this city to which everybody must submit. To go about on foot is considered highly ungentle; it is done only by the brown Hindus of the lowest castes. Respectable people ride either in palanquins or in carriages.

The countless servants in the palace, who watch every step you make, but whom you cannot make use of to execute a single order, since you cannot get them to understand you, here strike one as being greater nuisances than ever I felt them to be before. It is enough to drive you mad to ask for a glass of water when you are thirsty, and have a bottle of ink brought you by the servant. The uniforms of these handsome brown fellows are however exceedingly sumptuous and tasteful. Most of them wear scarlet jackets, laced with gold on the breast, and scarlet turbands with white crowns. The upper servants are old men, with handsome white beards that set off to great advantage, their long red garments adorned with a profusion of gold embroidery. The runners, grooms and coachmen have shorter dark blue frocks, dark blue turbands, red in the middle, and short white breeches. The keepers of the silver plate, the treasurer and his upper and under servants wear white frocks, blue shashets, and white caps, with blue centres. The total number of servants required in the palace of the Government is 372.

The climate is here exquisitely vernal,\* although the difference in comparison with Ceylon is considerable enough; for there are few flowers here at present, and the trees are at least partially divested of leaves: notwithstanding this the heat about noon is very bewildering, and one cannot venture out of doors before four in the afternoon. About that hour the movement begins in the course, a wide street on the river side, that is kept moist by continual watering, and where the fashionable English assemble in carriages or on horseback, all dressed in the most finished style. The promenaders salute and return salutes, and work their way through the throng which is often very considerable, especially about five o'clock. As surely as every well bred man takes his second breakfast about one o'clock, and his siesta about three, so surely will he be seen about five o'clock on the course in an elegant riding costume, with white gloves. After this he has to encounter the laborious task of dressing for dinner and the exertion of eating it, and towards nine or half past nine the hard day's work of the man, whose business is to enjoy life is ended. He may then stretch himself out on the sofa and smoke a cigar, until the time for sleep is come, and he lies down in his fourpost bed, with guaze curtains and more than a dozen pillows."

We have not many amongst us "whose business it is to enjoy life." There is in all probability not another city in the

world containing so few. There could scarcely, indeed, be fewer. Our business is to get through our daily work, and to *sustain* life, as best we can.

The following passage contains the Prussian's ideas of European life in the Upper Provinces. We can not help smiling at the derision with which he treats our English method of preserving health. Jaouement thought that he was wiser, on this score, than we stolid Englishmen; but he died (after a very short trial) with all his new systems in his head and his infallible remedies in his camel-trunks:—

“The routine of life under these exceedingly artificial circumstances differs greatly from that which is usual with us. One cannot remain in the open air longer than until about nine o'clock, or ten at the utmost; an Englishman at least will never venture out of doors after that hour. German constitutions, just fresh from Europe, suffer no injury at all from the heat; I have often drawn in the open air until eleven o'clock without any bad consequences, though the dangers of such a proceeding were set before me in the most dismal colours. It is a part of the English character to stick fast to a belief once established. No one goes out of doors after nine in the morning or before five in the afternoon; on the other hand it is considered quite a matter of course to eat a very substantial meal three times a day, and to drink a great lot of the headiest wine and beer, as if no danger was to be apprehended on that score. In my opinion it would do no harm to move about a little more at all times, and even during the heat; nay with such well furnished tables a larger allowance of exercise would be so much the better.

After sunrise a man sees whatever is worth seeing in the way of nature or art, takes a bath, and dresses for breakfast; after which he finds the lady of the house in the music room, where some music is performed and the company talk about Italian and German composers. The piano unfortunately is generally out of tune, and in no very brilliant condition, the rust playing havoc with the wires, notwithstanding its three finger thick covering of baize. Next whoever has time to do so goes to sleep for a few more hours. About one or two o'clock the company assemble again in the dining room for a second meal, which is again followed by an afternoon nap, until the horses and carriages are brought out about five o'clock. The heat is still very oppressive, and the west wind covers both carriage and rider with thick grey dust, so that one is glad to find time before dinner for another bath and toilette. About seven, people sit down to dinner; there are usually some ladies present, among whom each gentleman of distinction is previously introduced to that one whom he is to lead to table.

There was seldom any lack of Society; for the social propensities interrupted by the heat of the day make up for lost time in the evening, and one readily falls in with the custom of these dinners, which seem very well adapted to the circumstances of the climate. But what can be said for the balls which are such great favourites in the very height of the hot season? The Anglo Indians are passionately addicted to dancing, and it is at these balls that by far the largest concourses of persons are to be seen, since the invitations to them are dealt out with less rigorous exclusiveness than those to the dinners. The oddest figures are to be seen at these assemblies; ladies, past the bloom of youth, with their grey hair dressed

*a la paysanne*, take pains to dance something which, to our great annoyance, is here called a polka; and then there are young beauties of 13 or 14, with all the airs of mature women, and often with artificial roses on their cheeks, since the natural ones disappear very easily in this climate.

The roses may be tolerated; but when in order to conceal a dash of Indian blood, that gives a little tinge of bronze to the complexion, a coating of white of egg and chalk is laid upon the face, then indeed the arts of the toilette are carried rather too far for our European notions; and certainly I should have held the assertion that such things are done to be a slander, had I not convinced myself of the truth of the fact by a close scrutiny of some white lacquered ladies."

We must just remark upon this, that the story about the painting must be taken with a little abatement. It is at *least* an exaggeration.

Before approaching Calcutta we ought to have made the annexed brief extract relative to the sojourn of the Prussian party at Madras, we now give the passage though somewhat out of place; for it is one that ought to be read and reflected upon:—

"On the 22d of December we reached Madras, a wonderful city. To our thinking it wanted only mountain scenery to be quite incomparable. Lord Hay (Iwceddale) the Governor, vacated his whole palace for us, and went into the country without giving himself much concern about us. The pride and pomposity of the English nobility is still more insufferable here in India than in London, for here people give themselves the airs of princes, who in their native country would have played but a subordinate part. One advantage at least I owed to this circumstance, for it saved me a deal of irksome formalities, and the only things that bored me were sundry dozens of red and white clad servants, armed with fly-flappers and peacock's tails that followed me incessantly with stealthy steps whatever way I moved."

Much more might have been said upon this subject. The fact is, that Prince Waldemar and his suite were treated most scurvily by the Governor of Madras. We have heard a great deal about this matter; and are almost tempted to tell the whole story—including an account of a certain drive in a hired *bandy*; but we cannot afford to gossip at the end of so long an article.

Our next extract relates to the society of Simla. Our readers will smile at the Prussian's account of the English Church Service; the secret of his contempt appears to reside in the fact that he did not understand the language. There is a touch of intense griffinism, too, in the allusion to the presents of the Indian chiefs:—

"On the 4th of September we arrived in Simla, the English watering place. It is full of English officers who reside there with their families for health sake. The elevation of its site is the same as that of Nainethal; but the latter is only in an incipient state, and contains scarcely a score of

Englishmen, and no ladies at all, except Mr. Wilson's daughter. In Simla, on the other hand, there are some 150 officers residing, the half of whom are married and have families of daughters or nieces. Besides these there are many widows here, and solitary married ladies who indemnify themselves for the absence of their lords, by means of balls and other entertainments. \* \* \*

After 5 o'clock every evening, according to Indian custom, the liveliest bustle sets in, especially in the wide street before our hotel, called the "Course."

No one ventures to appear there who cannot exhibit a handsome horse, very white linen, the neatest frock-coat or uniform and white gloves. People must dress expressly to take an airing. Every body is mounted, and even the fair sex appear on the most high mettled Arab coursers. Ladies are often seen dashing along the street at a smart gallop, followed by three or four officers in elegant uniforms. Old ladies are carried about in jampans. \* \* \*

Dinners and balls followed one upon the other; a masked ball too was got up. Fortunately I was excused from appearing in costume. There was some thought of putting me into the dress of a mountain lady, but it was given up because I would not submit to have my beard cut off. Besides this there were certain deficiencies which it would have been very difficult to supply. The party was a very merry one, for there is a great number of hearty old ladies here, who caper through a polka with incredible spirit, laden with whole beds of flowers. But they did not figure, as I had been told they would, as Dianas or Graces, but in very pretty old fashioned costumes, farthingales and brocade, and the elderly gentlemen were dressed in corresponding fashion. The costumes were very cleverly managed and selected with taste. The oriental habiliments were likewise very rich, and accurate to a degree not easily to be equalled elsewhere; for there were officers there from the remotest quarters of India, men who had been in the Punjab, Sindh and Afghanistan; the great propensity of the Indian princes for present making had of course furnished these gentlemen with abundance of costly wares, which they could only make use of on occasions of this kind.

It must not however be supposed that there was any lack of young ladies; for provident relations fail not to collect here every thing in the shape of young and marriageable nieces and cousins that can be swept together from the plain; for matches being of course frequent in a place, where so many agreeable officers take up their abode only with a view to amusement. Last week we had two weddings. It is not the custom here any more than in England to have great festivities on these occasions. The marriage ceremony is performed in a shabby little church, to which you must go an hour before the commencement of the service in order to get a place. I cannot say I was much edified by my attendance there, for there was only a lot of psalms read, the manner being for the clergyman to read the first verse, and the congregation the next one, and so on alternately. Then follow endless long prayers, which are three or four times repeated, the congregation turning round and kneeling down before their seats, and covering their faces with both hands. The clergyman does the same. Last of all come the gospel and epistle, followed by a string of remarks that stand in lieu of the sermon. I have privately made up my mind not to enter the church again, for I observed that the roof has a great rent in it and may very soon fall in."

With one more extract we bring to a close our notice of

Dr. Hoffmeister's volume\* and with it, indeed, we may conclude our own overgrown article. The following letter was written from Múdkí, on the 20th of December, 1845. It is the last in the series. In a few hours the writer was a corpse:—

"Múdkí, 20th December.—We arrived at the village of Múdkí on the morning of the 18th after three days forced marches with the English army, which consists of 13 regiments of infantry, 5 regiments of cavalry, and 7 batteries. Shortly before we entered the village, it was reported that the Sikhs were advancing, and several shots were heard; but the light irregular cavalry drove back the enemy's detachments, so that the English took possession of the village without opposition. The tents were quickly pitched; but the vast mass of baggage with which thousands of camels, elephants and bullock carts were loaded had not yet arrived, when all was again in commotion. Leaving the hasty meal they had begun to snatch the cavalry hurried to their horses, and the weary and footsore infantry (they had marched 40 English miles in two days) were started from their cooking kettles by the news: The Sikhs are marching against us. The English troops hurried to meet them in double quick time. I was left behind in the camp, my horse being dead beat. A few minutes before 4 o'clock the battle began with a murderous discharge of grape from the Sikh batteries. The atmosphere was thick and sultry, and all was wrapped up in smoke and horrible dust. No enemy was visible; only his position was discoverable by the flash of the guns. The cannonade continued for two hours, after which the Sikh infantry came to the charge with the bayonet, but we were thrice driven back. It was not until night had fully set in that the enemy quitted his position; seventeen cannons and three standards were taken. Only one Sikh was made prisoner, but their loss in killed and wounded was very great.

Some regiments remained on the field of battle to cover the removal of the wounded, among whom there were many officers. To my unspeakable delight the Prince and the Counts made their appearance again without a scratch, though they had been in the thick of the fire. I had been horrified by a report that one of them had fallen. Three of my good friends were buried this day; one of them was amongst the ablest surgeons in the army. Another surgeon had both his legs shot off.

Yesterday morning after a sleepless night I went to the field of battle with a detachment of troops to assist in removing the wounded that still lay on the ground. Unluckily I was obliged to leave my horse behind. Scarcely had we reached the field when we were met by a large body of troops which had been ordered to retreat with all speed in consequence of the advance of the enemy's cavalry. Notwithstanding this the officer who commanded the detachment continued his march for another good half mile. Suddenly, just as we were giving drink to the first poor wounded wretches we came up with and were preparing to remove them, a cloud of dust was seen on the horizon, and several shots were heard. The officer ordered his men to fall into line; but the dread of the Sikhs was too great, and the native soldiers took to their heels one and all, and with such speed that I could not keep up with them. I followed the road I guessed to be

\* Since this notice was written, a translation of Dr. Hoffmeister's book, by Mrs. Austin, has been advertised by Mr. Bentley; so that it will soon pass, in its English dress, into our reader's hands.

the right one, at a quick run for some two miles; after which the ground became so sandy that my strength failed, and I had great reason to fear I should not get so quickly over the three miles that were still before me.

Meanwhile the firing was coming nearer, and with it the cloud of dust that concealed the cavalry. With great difficulty I cleared another half mile, and had just strength enough left to bargain with the driver of an elephant loaded with dead bodies to stop and give me a lift. He dragged me up on the animal's back, after which I fainted, and when I came to myself again I found I was in the camp. A sound sleep soon made me all right again.

This morning a dead body was brought to our tent accompanied by an open letter, expressing the writer's regret that Count Von Oriola had fallen in the battle. The dead man however was a catholic priest who had accompanied an Irish regiment. I had seen him stretched on the ground and recognized him by his long black beard, which had led to the mistake. He was chopped all to pieces with sword cuts.

To-day at last some of the poor wounded fellows who had lain two days and nights on the field of battle, were brought into the camp,—the same I helped to look for yesterday. Not far from the spot where I had been a slightly wounded soldier has had both his hands cut off. Mine, thank God, remain whole, and I have been obliged to stir them briskly; for there is a great want of surgeons in the hospital.

To-morrow the army marches for Ferozepore, and I am confident we shall come off well since the troops have received still further reinforcements. To our speedy meeting!"

Brief were Dr. Hoffmeister's experiences of military life and military adventure. 'War has its dangers even for amateurs; and Prince Waldemar himself but narrowly escaped destruction. That illustrious personage, when the last received mail was despatched from England, was enjoying the homage and partaking of the hospitality of our own countrymen—homage and hospitality rendered without stint. He has fought beside the Governor-General on the plains of India; he has dined with the Court of Directors in the City of London, and may now discourse to all the princes of Europe, not as a mere book-worm or parlour-politician, on that most wonderful phenomenon of the age—the British power in the east; and even detail, with something of pride, his own experiences of military life and adventure in Hindustan.

ART. VII.—1. *Papers relating to the Articles of Agreement concluded between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar on 16th December, 1846, for the administration of the Lahore State, during the minority of the Maharajah Dhulip Singh.\**

EVERY Englishman is supposed to be acquainted with the laws of his country, and there are very few who would not have us to suppose also that they are acquainted with its politics. Since the days of the Athenians, never did a people take more cognisance of their rulers' acts than our own countrymen. The great family of Englishmen planted beyond the Atlantic, who caricature us in every thing, have made this peculiarity ridiculous, and divided themselves off into two great classes: of which "The President of the United States" has one all to himself, while the other is given up to "the free and enlightened electors" who first choose, and then look after him. The French trace it, of course, to the climate of Great Britain, whose gloomy inspiration engenders politics eleven months out of twelve, and attains its climax, suicide, in November. We may, however, be excused if we attribute it to that love of liberty, which liberty itself produces; to a determination not lightly to give up the rights and institutions which one by one were wrung from time and arbitrary government: but, on the contrary, to lose no opportunity which the course of events, and the difficulties of our rulers may offer to extend and improve them. Thus English bills have rarely wanted either in or out of the Commons House, thoughtful patriots to watch their tendencies, question their legitimacy, and expound their good or evil to the people. But it is equally true that this very vigilance over exclusive British interests, proved, in an age of false political economy, for many years, the bane of our own colonies, and amongst them, of British India; to the latter in exact proportion as charters limited the authority of the Court of Directors, and brought

\* The following article was written for our last number; but circumstances prevented its being inserted therein. It is not however, too late; since we both hope and believe that the readers of the *Calcutta Review* are among those who never deem it too late to inquire into the truth. The Lahore Blue Book indeed involves principles which can never be out of date; and the present paper will, we trust, be found to throw a new light upon the darkest passages of the Kashmir rebellion and the trial of Lal Singh. The almost PROPHETIC reflections on the impolicy of leaving the Rani at Lahore, have, as all our readers know, been since amply justified; and so far from sympathizing with "the bereaved mother," we rejoice over the *emancipated child*, and should have been glad if the firebrand of the Punjab had been utterly extinguished in Hindustan, instead of being merely damped at Shikopurah.



the East Indies in contact with the English legislature. The very patriots and liberal party of our own island were the authors of every illiberal and ruinous measure towards India; and it is not too much to assert, that if the same narrow spirit of legislation, which lost us America, had been unfortunately let loose on British India, every one of its provinces must have long since shared the fate of Dacca. The little interest taken by the *people* of England, for so long a period, in Anglo-Indian affairs, cannot therefore be wondered at. We are really inclined to think, that it is only since "the Kabul catastrophe," that even the newspapers of the United Kingdom, (which are always ahead of the age,) have admitted this vast continent into their columns; and any one of the young Baboos of Calcutta who pushes his English researches into "Hansard," cannot fail to come to the conclusion that the Board of Control was originally founded as a *Chapel of Ease* to the two Houses of Parliament; to rid them of the trouble, the responsibility, and even the very name of India. The Peers and Commoners could not afford a debate upon any thing less than a renewal of the charter: and only that because it was supposed to turn "the balance of power" between the two great Island parties. So they paid a good-natured lord to take "from eighty to one hundred millions of subjects off their hands!

In this point of view the late Akbar Khan may not possibly be regarded by the next generation of natives as the great benefactor of their country; and the stunning calamity which overtook us in Afghanistan takes its place in history as a most fortunate occurrence.

We have been led into these reflections by the appearance of the "Lahore Blue Book," and the marked attention with which it has been received at home and here. If "Blue Books" are not altogether a recent invention, (that of the Nepalese war is the first we are aware of), *reading them*, decidedly is; and we venture to say even now that many an Englishman of education has peered into the secrets of the moon through Lord Rosse's telescope, who feels no wish to gain an insight into the dark diplomacy of this Eastern empire. The war in Afghanistan first got the pages of an Indian "*Blue Book*" cut by the public. The *amour propre* of John Bull was wounded by so disgraceful a reverse; his good nature was exhausted by such a series of blunders; and his strong good sense insisted on being told what business the Governor-General of India had ever found in Khorassan. The explanation elicited was anything but satisfactory; and the people of England have

looked with suspicion ever since upon the smallest military movement in this country. Lord Ellenborough would scarcely have been allowed the relaxation of *playing* at soldiers without rendering ~~an~~ account of the game. And assuredly the war in Sindh did not tend to lessen this anxiety, or show the superfluity of "Blue Books;" though "the Commentary on the Conquest" has since disclosed that "the *whole* truth" is not always to be found therein.

The hard-fought battles on the Sutlej once more alarmed the English public. They could not understand why British India should be invaded;—peaceful British India which for nearly a century had been invading every state within its reach. Something must certainly be wrong somewhere; and the "Blue Book" had better clear it up! The "Blue Book" *did* clear it up. It took the highest ground ever yet taken by a Governor-General of India; for it expounded the doctrine that peace was the policy, and war the last alternative of the paramount power.

Thus it has happened that hitherto "Blue Books" have been in effect the apologies of the government. They have been hopefully looked for by the honest to clear up what wanted explanation; maliciously watched for by partisans as inexhaustible magazines of suicidal admissions, and misrepresentable opinions.

The "Lahore Blue Book" now before us commences, we trust, a more auspicious era. Its publication was not actually required. Little reserve and no mystery has shrouded the past year's politics of the North West Frontier. The great event of the "Book" itself,—(the trial and deposition of Rajah Lal Sing), took place in open day; unbiassed military men were associated with the political officers in judgment; and the court was filled with impartial auditors and spectators, European and native. However remarkable, therefore, the event might be, the *reasons* of it were not to seek; and the changes which ensued;—the improved relations which we gained with our Sikh neighbours; followed as a matter of course; and have never been blamed except for moderation. The only enemies of the treaty of the 16th December were the advocates of annexation, of which no Blue Book could decide the policy or impolicy, nor any one else be in so good a position to judge as those who rejected it.

Hence it is probable that few politicians awaited the Lahore Blue Book with any great curiosity or would have been much disappointed or surprised if none had appeared. Yet we find on perusal that its suppression would have been an irreparable

loss. Why is this? We are presented with little unexpected information; no new use is made of facts, with which we were before acquainted; and the only contemporary doubt which these letters have solved for the benefit of history is, whether the position of Sheikh Imam-ud-din in Kashmir was that of a liberator or a rebel; whether it was an ambitious Governor or an alarmed people, who opposed the transfer of the province to Maharajah Golab Singh. This latter point was indeed of considerable interest, affecting deeply, as it did, the prospect of good from a sovereign created by ourselves. But far beyond the satisfaction even of knowing that the Kashmir rebellion was neither a national insurrection, nor a religious war, is that which we derive from a public repudiation *ex-cathedra* of the doctrines of *aggression*, *double government*, and the *elasticity of treaties*. The voice of public opinion has long been lifted against these abuses, and nowhere oftener or more loudly than in the "*Calcutta Review*;" but this authoritative washing of the hands for ever of them, this confession of a faith in better things by the Anglo Indian Government, is a triumph; a very memorable concession which will be looked back to and quoted and which no future Governor-General will have the evil courage to retract.

With these prefatory remarks, we proceed to analyse the story of the book.

By the 1st article of the Agreement concluded between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar on the 11th March 1846, the occupation of Lahore by the British troops was positively limited to "the current year 1846." Many considerations entered into this stipulation. First and foremost, the occupation of Lahore was for the express purpose of giving breathing time to the Sikh chiefs and Queen, and enabling them to establish a strong Government over their broken army; for which a year seemed at that time amply sufficient. And if a year should *not* prove sufficient; then it would appear that the Government had not the confidence of the chiefs and people; and to support it longer, would be re-enacting at Lahore the licensed tyranny of Lucknow and Hyderabad. How deeply Lord Hardinge felt that the day for double Government was passed, we shall see presently in his letters.

A second reason for limiting the occupation to a year was the necessity of stimulating the Durbar and Queen to exertion; and warning them not to rely on foreign aid beyond the stipulated time. And lastly we understood the article in question to be a solemn pledge to the Sikh nation of the honesty of our intentions: that we really desired nothing better than

that they should enjoy their own country and power in independence: and that as soon as ever they felt themselves able to walk alone, we would relax our grasp upon the state: and retiring within our own frontiers, resume those relations of amity which they had suffered so severely for destroying. "I am confident," wrote the Governor-General on September 3rd, 1846, to the Secret Committee, no "permanent advantage to the interests of the Maharajah's Government would be derived from delay. Such a course, notwithstanding the good terms on which the British troops have remained with the people, and the Sikh soldiery, would cause discontent to the troops, as well as the chiefs, and excite mistrust of the ultimate intentions of the British Government. It is therefore my intention to withdraw the troops at the end of December, in accordance with the Articles of Agreement made with the Lahore Durbar on the 11th March, by which the British force was not to be detained at Lahore beyond the expiration of the current year."

Let us now see, then, how far the expectation of forming a strong Sikh Government was realized, and the causes of its final disappointment.

There has been considerable ridicule lavished on the profession made by the British Government of a desire "to see a Sikh Government re-established which may be able to control its army, protect its subjects, and willing to respect the rights of its neighbours;" yet we now find from the Blue Book, that up to the 3d of September, both Lord Hardinge and the officiating agent at Lahore, (Mr. John Lawrence) considered that it was quite feasible, and depended only on the good or ill behaviour of the Vizier during the next four months:—

"If the next four months be diligently employed in completing their military arrangements, I anticipate no events which can render it an expedient course to prolong the occupation of Lahore by the British troops.

The opinion of Mr. Lawrence, as to the prospect of establishing a permanent Sikh Government, after the British troops withdraw from Lahore, is as satisfactory as I had any reason to expect. The main difficulty in carrying on a Government will consist in satisfying the expectations of the Chiefs, who, having received large jaghirs from the favour or the fear of the various rulers in the Punjab, during the last five years of anarchy, are unwilling to submit to the reductions which justice and state necessity demand. These necessary measures of economy, if enforced by any Minister, would have caused the same chiefs to combine against him; and there can be no doubt that Rajah Lal Singh in the performance of this duty has made many enemies, each chief resenting the minister's act as a personal injury to himself, and being probably disposed to revenge his wrong by those violent and vindictive means resorted to in all countries, but more especially in the East. The life of the Vizier must, therefore, be

considered in danger. Of this danger he is well aware, and he seems disposed to secure his person by surrounding himself with Affghans and foreigners.

Every act of the British Government will be carefully shaped, so as to give the minister every possible support; and no means will be omitted, to prove to the Government of the Maharajah the sincerity of our advice, and the impartiality of our conduct, on all points of conflicting interests arising out of the Treaty.

A change of the Vizier may suddenly take place by some act of violence similar to those which have so frequently been committed of late years at Lahore; but such a crime, however much to be deplored, will not, as I have before remarked, be decisive as to the *stability of a Sikh Government*. There is, I believe, a very strong desire on the part of the chiefs and the people to preserve their national institutions and the Raj; and if the selfish views and combinations of the chiefs against the Government can admit of a compromise, and a regular system of paying the army should be adopted, I see no cause why a permanent Sikh Government may not be established."

From the above extract we gather that the Governor General ascribed the unpopularity of Rajah Lal Singh to the rigid execution of his duty in carrying out the retrenchments rendered necessary by the territorial losses of the Lahore state. If, however, we have read the *Dellhi Gazette's* Lahore news aright, the late Vizier did not so much offend the Sikh chiefs by depriving them of their jaghirs as by taking those jaghirs himself. No man certainly, be his color what it may, *likes* to be made poorer; but the loss is either bearable or unbearable, according to the shape in which it comes. In the case before us the popularity or unpopularity of reducing jaghirs in the Punjab, seems to us to have depended very greatly on the honesty or dishonesty of the Minister. It was no new principle; for the Sikh Government has always been a confiscating Government: and Runjit Singh's avowed axiom was that there was no such thing as private property in the Punjab. Whatever wealth his chiefs possessed, (and he was lavish to all) was so much crown property deposited in their hands; which might be demanded at any moment when the sirkar was poor; and almost invariably was pounced down upon when the fortunate possessor died. In the same way, Runjit Singh considered it a kind of moral duty to deposit more or less money in his treasury every day: and if, when he sat silent, and out of spirits, in the Durbar, the courtiers standing around with joined hands enquired—"What ailed his Highness *Mizaj*?" it was no uncommon reply of his, that "it was nearly sunset, yet not a rupee had been put into the Moti Munder all the day!" Twenty voices would on such occasions be raised saying "Maharajji, my money is yours: allow me to send Rs. 1000 to the trea-

sury." "Permit a slave who has been heaped with favors to return Rs. 500." "And I, fifty gold mohurs." "And I twenty," and so on. The Vakíl of every speaker wrote out a note of hand; they were signed amidst a general laugh; Runjit himself swept them up with a chuckle, and every body said to his neighbour as he left the Durbar, "Was there ever such a wise man as the Maharajah?" But then they all felt sure that the money thus extracted really was going into the Moti Munder or *Govind Ghur*, the pride of the Khalsa. And it is not impossible that the retrenchments of Rajah Lal Singh might have been as little objected to by those on whom they fell the heaviest, if he had honestly applied the proceeds to paying up the army, and consolidating the Raj. But if we are rightly informed, that what he took from the Sirdars, he either directly or indirectly appropriated himself; that he caused to be conferred on himself and his relations jaghirs to the amount of between ten and fifteen lakhs of rupees per annum between the Jhyum and the Indus; that he meditated retiring to that Doab, and making himself independant, with Sirdar Sultan Mahomed Khan as his ally in Peshawur, and his cousin in Mooltan,\* and that for every Sikh soldier whom in compliance with the treaty he discharged out of the regular army, he enlisted an Affghan, a Potowari, or a Kohistaní in his own body guard; then indeed we think that the unpopularity of Rajah Lal Singh is fully accounted for; and agree with the Governor-General, that "the life of the Vizier was to be considered in danger." Instead of striving single-mindedly to uphold his own Government, and save his country, he was secretly but steadily preparing for its dissolution and ruin; and he endeavoured not so much to avert this calamity, as to take care it should fall as lightly as possible on himself. His projects, in fact, were as inconsistent with prudence as with patriotism; and the only clue to their being conceived at all by a man, far from being deficient in ability, is, a possible ambitious hope that at the breaking up of the Punjab, which must have followed a revolution, he might be raised to a throne like the Maharajah of Kashmir, and be made a piece of the wall of the British frontier.

It has been said that all this might have been foreseen; that nothing else could be expected from the Rajah's previous career; and that the British Government forgot its dignity, and sanctioned vice, when it elevated the Rani's paramour

\* The Rajah's desire to make Mier Bhugwan Singh, Nazim of Mooltan, was, we believe, the real reason of "the differences" with Dewan Mulraj.

to the Vizarut. This is just one of those cases wherein half-informed people assume their own premises, and then argue upon their own conclusion. It seems to have been *taken for granted* that Rajah Lal Singh was as much set up by Lord Hardinge as Tufuzzul Hussein by Sir John Shore, or Chundú Lal by Sir George Barlow. But it is high time that this matter should be put in its right light. When the Army of the Sutlej was advancing upon Lahore, there was no Vizier in the Punjab, nor had there been since the murder of Jowahir Singh in September 1845. That event was most probably connived at by the Rani, with the view of replacing an upbraiding brother by a complying lover in the Vizarut; and Lal Singh's cowardice alone prevented the consummation of the scheme. The more courageous woman urged him at once to make himself Vizier; but after assisting in the murder of two ministers, he had reason for considering it an unlucky office. He contented himself therefore with being "Kúl Múkhatar" or plenipotentiary; having the power but not the name of Vizier. Thus it remained till the disasters of the Khalsa on the Sutlej, and the consequent disrepute of Rajah Lal Singh, obliged the Rani to summon Rajah Golab Singh from Jammú. The last of the Dograh brothers did not descend from the mountains to be the second man at the capital. He came upon entreaty, as the only man equal to the crisis; and he assumed the *dictatorship* at once. From the dictatorship, he would have passed naturally to the Vizarut, *had not the British authorities been honest*, and cheaply rid the Punjab of him by making him king over the hills where he was in fact already lord and master. By the expression "*had the British not been honest*," we mean, had they wished to sow the seeds of discord, and leave an opening for the annexation of the Punjab at a more convenient season, when they had recruited their losses, and got up more guns and European regiments. For assuredly Golab Singh would not have forgotten the murder of Dhyan Singh by the Sindhun-wallahs, of Súchít Singh by the Sikh army, of Hira Singh by the Rani and her paramour, or the exaction of ninety lakhs of rupees from himself when brought a prisoner to Lahore. All these things were to be revenged; vengeance would have raised up enemies and intrigues; and a revolution would have been just ripe at the next Dusserah, or *opening of the cold season!*

But to return. Golab Singh's removal left the Vizarut vacant; and had either Lord Hardinge or his Agent, wished to nominate a Vizier, and make him a creature of his own,

then would have been the time. But to have done so would have been in direct contravention of Act. XV. of the treaty of 9th March: by which the British Government disclaimed "any interference in the internal administration of the Lahore States." The Sikh chiefs were left to themselves to form a Government as they chose; a British force being moreover given them to enable them to do so. The result was natural. There was no great Sirdar whose rank entitled him to the post, nor any inferior one whose ability could raise him to it. Dewan Dínanath, the only man about the court whose talents were equal to the emergency was looked down on as a *Mútsuddi*, even by those who could not cope with him either in argument or influence. The favourite of the Rani therefore had no difficulty in resuming, during peaceful British occupation, the position which he had had the address to achieve in more dangerous times; and he seems to have performed from the first all the functions of Vizier, though a reference to the *Delhi Gazette* will shew that he was not actually invested with the Vizariat, by the Queen, till five or six months after he is said to have had that distinction conferred on him by the British Government!

We have been led into this long digression for the sake of history: to relieve Lord Hardinge and the political authorities from the unmerited odium of having connived at the intrigues of the Rani and the Vizier; and we hope that we have made it sufficiently plain that they had no voice in the matter; and would have been equally bound to recognise and carry on business with the Court jester if the Sikh Sirdars had thought him wiser than themselves; or the "slave girl Mungla," if they had wished for the future to have a Petticoat Government in the Punjab.

Let us now return to the narrative. We have seen that on the 3d September, 1846, there were still hopes of an establishment of an independant Government at Lahore; but in the same letter occurs the following passage:—"I do not apprehend that Sheikh Imam-úddín will push his resistance any further after the order he has received from Lahore, and from Lieut. Col. Lawrence."

The two forces of the Maharajah Golab Singh and the Sheikh, being in presence of each other, may by accident come to blows; but the interests of the two chiefs are opposed to such a contingency, and by a letter recently received by Lieut. Col. Lawrence from the Maharajah Golab Singh, it is evident he does not seem to expect a collision." This refers to the transfer of the province of Kashmir to Maharajah Golab



Singh, agreed upon on the 16th of March 1846, but not yet fulfilled by the Sikh Government. The whole story is told by the Governor-General in letter No. 3, of the collection before us:—

No. 3.

*The Governor-General to the Secret Committee.*

*Simla, September 19, 1846. (No. 40.)*

(Extract.)

"In the letters from Lahore of Mr. J. Lawrence, the delay and suspicious conduct of Sheik Imamooddeen, the Governor of Cashmere on the part of the Lahore Government, are adverted to, and the measures taken by the Durbar to procure the departure of the Sheik from Cashmere, are described.

I forward dispatches of the Governor-General's Agent, reporting the ultimate failure of Sheik Imamooddeen, to quit Cashmere at the promised time, and the occurrence of a collision between the troops of the Sheik and those of Maharajah Golab Sing, in which the latter were worsted, with the death of the Vizier Luckput Rae, and the dispersion of the Maharajah's force.

The details of this affair, as far as they are known, and the previous conduct of the Sheik Imamooddeen, are so fully given in the enclosures of this dispatch, and the other papers referred to, that it is not necessary for me to describe them in this place. It is of more importance to consider the motives which may have induced Sheik Imamooddeen to put himself thus actively in opposition to the British Government and Maharajah Golab Sing, and to the reiterated orders of the Lahore Durbar; the consequences which may probably result from this affair; and the measures which may be most expedient to adopt in reference to it.

From the first, Maharajah Golab Sing has expressed no apprehension about his obtaining the occupation of Cashmere. At Umritsir, after the completion of the Treaty, he urged that the Durbar should take measures for putting him into possession of the other districts made over to him, and the Hazareh; but he said that Sheik Moheooodeen and he were on an understanding with each other, and that his possession of Cashmere would be accomplished without difficulty. Early in April, Moheooodeen died, and his son, Sheik Imamooddeen, the former Governor of the Julunder, succeeded him. Maharajah Golab Sing stated that this would make no difference in his affairs, for that Sheik Imamooddeen was, equally with his father, in his (Golab Sing's) interest.

Accordingly, Maharajah Golab Sing sent a few regiments with Vizier Luckput Rae, to take possession of the district. These regiments arrived at the same time as Lord Elphinstone and Mr. C. Hardinge, and were forthwith put in possession of the Hurree Purbut, the principal fort at the capital; this was on the 21st of April last.

Maharajah Golab Sing would appear to have, at this time, entered into negotiation with Sheik Imamooddeen, to put his troops into the neighbouring districts, and to hold the Government of Cashmere under him.

Sheik Imamooddeen states that, at the requisition of Maharajah Golab Sing, he did put his troops into those districts, and that he has a claim against the Maharajah for their expenses.

What may have been the real nature of the negotiations between the Sheik and the Maharajah, it is impossible for us to know at present; but it appears that they ended in no satisfactory result. The Maharajah soon

required the departure of Sheik Imamooddeen from Cashmere, and sent small reinforcements under Vizier Rutnoo to the support of Luckput Rae.

At the same time, Maharajah Golab Sing seems to have made some demands upon Sheik Imamooddeen, which the latter resisted; and the Sheik, under pretext of collecting balances of revenue, and requiring a receipt and acquittance from Vizier Luckput Rae, delayed from week to week his departure from Cashmere.

The Lahore Durbar, who had been continually pressed upon the subject of making over the transferred districts, Cashmere included, to the Maharajah, were directed to cause the immediate removal of Sheik Imamooddeen.

When the Sheik still delayed his return to Lahore, the Durbar sent a special and pressing order by the hands of Dewan Hakim Rae and Vakeel Sohun Lall, peremptorily directing him to make over the district to the Maharajah, and to repair to Lahore, where his accounts would be adjusted.

These persons appear to have made unnecessary delay on the road, and to have only reached Rajourie when the outbreak occurred, which is described, as far as its details are known, in the inclosures of this despatch.

On the news of the open rebellion of Sheik Imamooddeen reaching Lahore, the Durbar sent off Sirdar Utter Sing Mun, with other officers, to bring the Sheik away.

The result of the Sirdar's mission cannot yet be known: but it is not probable, in the present posture of affairs, that it has been successful. Deeply interested as the Lahore Durbar are in the fulfilment of all the provisions of the Treaty, it can scarcely be supposed that they have instigated or countenanced the Sheik's proceedings; and yet there is a strong impression on the minds of all the British officers on the spot, that Sheik Imamooddeen has all along had the sympathies, if not the covert connivance, of Rajah Lal Sing, and other influential parties at Lahore.

The above is a summary of the proceedings and orders for the transfer of Cashmere, from the Lahore Government to the Jummoo Maharajah.

The political connexion between Maharajah Golab Sing and the Sheiks Moheecooddeen and Imamooddeen, is of old standing, and has been long notorious as of the closest description.

Moheecooddeen, the father, began life as a shoe-maker; he was a man of no family, character or influence; but, being possessed of those talents for intrigue and self-aggrandisement, which were more likely to stand him in stead, in such a Government and society as that of the Sikhs in the Punjab, he contrived, with the assistance of the Dogras, and more particularly of Golab Sing, to raise himself from poverty and obscurity to a state of some eminence and of vast wealth.

About seven years ago, under the auspices, and by the instrumentality, of the Maharajah, Sheik Moheecooddeen was appointed to the Government of the Cashmere district, and his son, Imamooddeen, to that of the Julunder Doab.

Sheik Moheecooddeen was to have accounted to the Durbar for twenty lacs of Cashmere rupees per annum, of which six lacs were to be allowed him for the maintenance of troops, and the balance, fourteen lacs, was to be paid into the Lahore treasury.

The Sheik's payments at Lahore are stated not to have exceeded six lacs per annum since he assumed the Government, and part of which has been remitted in shawl goods. No accounts have been rendered during the whole seven years.

The same statement of short payments, and failure to render any account of seven years' collections is equally applicable to Sheik Imamooddeen, in respect to the Julunder Doab.

The Sheiks are known to have sent across the Sutledj upwards of a crore of rupees, in specie, shortly before the late invasion of our territories by the Sikh army.

What may have been the inducement of Sheik Imamooddeen to take the course he is now pursuing, it is not easy to conjecture. He had immense wealth in money and a jagheer at Jullunder, which we had upheld, yielding nearly a lac per annum. He cannot expect to maintain himself in Cashmere, against Maharajah Golab Sing and the Sikh and British Governments.

The Sheik was doubtless placed in a position of much difficulty in regard to securing the whole of his ill-gotten wealth. He is believed still to have much in Cashmere: the locality of which, and all the circumstances under which it was obtained, are doubtless well known to the Maharajah, who was bent on appropriating it, if possible. After the transfer of the province, its removal became difficult.

Again, the Sikh Government summoned him to Lahore, and spoke of an adjustment of accounts. The Sheik well knew that he had rendered no account for seven years; that his spoliation was notorious; and that the Durbar were aware of his full ability to pay a large sum as balance of arrears, which their exigencies would induce them the more rigorously to demand.

This was doubtless a dilemma; but the mode which he has adopted to avoid it is a desperate one. His money in Cashmere will be soon exhausted by the large force he is said to be collecting. His jagheer in our provinces will be confiscated, and his property attached; and the result of his enterprise, though it may cause trouble, and is much to be regretted, cannot be doubtful.

The Lahore Durbar are bound by the IVth Article of the Treaty of Lahore, to put us, or our representative, in possession of the Province of Cashmere. This they have not done, and their officer is now in open rebellion in the district.

In the present state of our information, I cannot tell precisely what measures it may be necessary ultimately to take. You will perceive that I sent Colonel Lawrence's Assistant, Lieutenant Edwardes, to Jummoo, to make Maharajah Golab Sing exert himself, and to urge him to advance at once with his disposable force to Cashmere. I have called on the Lahore Government to place at the disposal of the Maharajah such of their regiments and generals, as he himself may select to accompany him; and Brigadier Wheeler has been warned to be ready to advance with a portion of the Jullunder force to Bissowlee and Jummoo, to support Maharajah Golab Sing's rear, and, should he wish it, to hold his territory for him during his absence.

I shall be well satisfied if by these means the revolt of the Sheik may be put down, and the occupation by Maharajah Golab Sing accomplished. Any delay in the commencement of operations will be inexpedient. The Mahomedan Hill Rajahs in the neighbourhood of Cashmere, appear to have already joined the Sheik; the Hazarehs will doubtless follow the example, and there is much disposition to revolt in all the western districts.

The season of the year is somewhat in favor of the rebels making a protracted resistance, as, towards the end of November, most of the passes into Cashmere are closed, and the troops proceeding there will not be able to return till after the winter.

In a few days, our information will be more full, and I shall be the better able to concert measures adapted to the circumstances. I shall not move British troops to Cashmere if I can avoid it.

It is worthy of remark, that Sheik Imamooddeen has caused the Sheik

emissaries, Dewan Hakim Rae and Vakeel Sohun Lal, to be treated with all consideration and respect at Rajourie, whence they last wrote; while he has proclaimed that Maharajah Duleep Sing is the Sovereign of Cashmere, and himself the Rajah's subadar; (which looks as if he were doubtful of those about him supporting his independence;) while, on the day at the close of which the attack on Maharajah Golab Singh's force took place, it is said to have been industriously circulated at the Bazaar of Cashmere, that the British troops had been attacked and defeated at Lahore, and the young Maharajah killed.

All the British officers who had gone to visit Cashmere had left the valley before the outbreak occurred, excepting Captains Broome and Nicolson, who were on the borders, and, on hearing of the affair, proceeded into the Maharajah's territory."

From this candid statement of the pros and cons, we learn, that the Governor-General "could not *suppose*," that "deeply interested as the Lahore Durbar were in the fulfilment of all the provisions of the treaty—they had instigated, or countenanced the Sheikh's proceedings;" although "there was a strong impression on the minds of all the British officers on the spot that Sheikh Imam-úd-dín had all along the sympathies, if not the covert connivance of Rajah Lal Singh, and other influential parties at Lahore." He contented himself therefore with calling on Maharajah Dhulíp Singh to fulfill his contract, and put Maharajah Golab Singh in possession of Kashmír, at the point of the sword; himself evincing his determination to enforce the treaty, by advancing a strong body of British troops into the Punjab. A political officer was at the same time sent up to Jammú to excite the dormant energies of the Maharajah, who seemed stupified at the outbreak, and perhaps may have even doubted our good faith.

These vigorous measures had the desired effect of shewing not only to Golab Singh, but also to the Sheikh in Kashmír and the Vizier in Lahore, that no difficulties which could be created by hostile combinations, or intrigues, would be allowed to stand in the way of carrying out the treaty. The very first fruits were the revelation of Rajah Lal Singh's treachery. Natives have the courage to plan any villainy; but they break down in the execution from inability to combine and remain true to each other. No sooner did Púrun Chund, the Sheikh's Vakíl, find the British were in earnest, and about to take the field, than with admirable decision he chose his side, and determined to save his master by throwing Lal Singh overboard. He confessed to Lieut. Edwardes on the road to Jammú that Sheikh Imam-úd-dín was never more faithful to his own Government than now when he seemed to be a rebel: and promised to put that officer in

possession of written orders from Rajah Lal Singh, to oppose the transfer of Kashmír.

At the same moment, the Rani was unbosoming herself to the Archbishop of Lahore, and expressing her hopes that those same "written orders" would not fall into the hands of the British.

The Governor-General, who, on the 19th September, refused to harbour the suspicion, was staggered by these new testimonies, and in his next letter of the 4th October, we find him making up his mind as to the consequences :—

No 4.

*The Governor-General to the Secret Committee.*

*Simla, October 4, 1846. (No 12.)*

(Extract.)

"In my dispatch of the 19th September, 1846, No. 40, I reported the defeat and dispersion of the forces of Maharajah Golab Singh, by those of the Sheik Imamooddeen, in the valley of Cashmere; and I stated the steps I had taken, in urging the Maharajah to make more active exertions, and in calling upon the Lahore Durbar to place at the disposal of the Maharajah such of the Sikh regiments and generals as His Highness might himself select. I also ordered

- 6 Regiments of Native Infantry,
- 2 Ditto of Irregular Cavalry, and
- 12 Field Guns,

under Brigadier Wheeler, to be held in readiness to march from the Jullunder towards Jummoo, for the purpose of protecting the Maharajah's rear, in his absence.

On the evening of the 21st September, the Maharajah's Vakeel, Joala, Sohaic, reached Simla, and after conferring with the Political Agent, declared that the movements proposed to be made by Brigadier Wheeler's force, would best fulfil the Maharajah's wishes; and I accordingly, on the 22nd, addressed the commander-in-chief, requesting that the Brigadier might be ordered to advance; and I expect to hear that the troops will, about the 8th or 9th, have reached their destination; three regiments of infantry, one of irregular cavalry, and six guns, being posted in the neighbourhood of Jummoo.

On the 21th, I desired the Political Agent to obtain from the Maharajah's Vakeel a full and distinct exposition of his master's intentions and means; and the answers given by the Vakeel to the questions put to him by the Political Agent, will show you that the measures, already taken, of preparing the force under Brigadier Wheeler, and the demand made upon the Lahore Durbar for all the available Sikh troops, had anticipated the Maharajah's wishes, and that he not only did not expect or desire that a British force should be actually employed against Cashmere, but on the contrary, preferred that his own troops, aided by the Sikh forces, should be employed for the purpose. I desired that His Highness might be cautioned not to conceal his real views, or delay making known to me his wishes, until the season might be too far advanced to afford him the assistance he desired.

On the following day the 25th of September, a letter dated the 17th, was received from Lieutenant Edwardes, the Assistant Political Agent, who had

been ordered to proceed to Jummoo, in which letter, he reported the substance of conversations he had held with the Sheik Imamooddeen's Vakeel, on his way to Cashmere. The Sheik's Vakeel Poorun Chund, repeatedly asserted, that his master, the Sheik, had been secretly instigated in his resistance to the Maharajah Golab Sing in Cashmere, by communications sent to him by the Vizier Lall Sing, and that the Sheik possessed letters to this effect, written by the Vakeel, and signed by Rajah Lall Sing at Lahore.

By the same post from Lahore, information was received that the Maharanee had held a confidential conversation with Bhase Ram Sing, explaining to him her position and that of the Vizier, and attaching the greatest importance to the recovery of letters addressed to the Sheik by the Vizier on the subject of Cashmere.

These reports, received from different quarters, combined with the delays and evasions of the Vizier during the preceding five months; his failure to depute the persons to Cashmere, pointed out by the Political Agent as the most proper to be sent to the Sheik; and the slow progress towards Cashmere made by the two Sikh emissaries, Dewan Hakim Rao and Vakeel Sohun Lal, sent, at last, by the Durbar, after the reiterated representations of the Agent, were circumstances calculated to excite a just suspicion that the Vizier Lall Sing was implicated in the Sheik's misconduct, by secretly encouraging the Lahore Governor of Cashmere to resist the orders publicly sent to him by his Government, to withdraw from the province, delivering up the country to the Maharajah, in pursuance of the Treaty.

I, therefore, in my instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, desired him to omit no efforts to ascertain the truth of the declarations made by the Sheik's Vakeel to Lieutenant Edwardes, being determined, if these statements could be substantiated, at once to adopt measures against the Vizier, which should not only terminate our official communications with him, but should deprive him of power, in consequence of his treasonable intrigues, by which the fulfilment of so important an Article of the Treaty was intentionally evaded.

So long as the Sheik is able to defend the passes and maintain his ground in Cashmere, he will, in all probability, not produce the proofs which his Vakeel declares he possesses, showing that he has been acting under the orders of his own Government.

It appears to me also improbable that Rajah Lall Sing should have committed himself to the extent of signing letters written by the Sheik's Vakeel; but it is not unlikely that he may, under the impulse of his hatred of Maharajah Golab Sing, have held conversations with the Vakeel encouraging the Sheik, to resist, in order to give the Maharajah as much trouble as possible: and intimating, that the Sheik, for thus acting, would be rewarded by the Vizier, by causing the claims of the Lahore Government for his arrears of revenue to be favourably settled.

I considered it expedient, under these circumstances, to be prepared for any event, either to support Brigadier Wheeler, or check any disposition of the Mussulman population of the Hazareh country to rise, in consequence of the recent events in Cashmere; and I, therefore, issued instructions to hold

Her Majesty's 80th Regiment,  
3 Regiments of Native Infantry,  
12 Guns,

in readiness to move from Lahore on Sealkote, so as to unite, if necessary, with the Jukunder force,—this force to be replaced at Lahore by

Her Majesty's 62nd Regiment,  
 3 Regiments of Native Infantry,  
 2 Regiments of Cavalry, and  
 12 Guns.

from Ferozepore. These forces at Lahore and Ferozepore are fully prepared to move at the shortest notice.

There are two letters attached to the correspondence, written by the son of the Rajah of Rajourie, which have some interest. The first describes the action between the Sheik's forces and the Maharajah's, by which it would appear that the collision was brought about by some stray shots, from the Maharajah's forces. The second letter, intercepted by the Vizier Lall Sing, gives the son's narrative to his father, of the rising of all the Mussulman tribes of the hills; the steps taken by the Sheik to induce the Khyberes and the Eusofzyes to move on to the right bank of the Indus; whilst to the eastward, on the side of Ladak, he had employed emissaries to induce the population to rise against the Maharajah. No mention is made of the Affghans moving upon Peshawur, although there are several of this tribe in Cashmere.

This letter may have been written for the purpose of being intercepted; but there can be no doubt that the Sheik will very naturally take every means to support himself, by an appeal to Mussulman hopes, and religious fanaticism.

The Maharajah had declared his wishes that the British troops should afford him the aid he requires, by protecting his rear and not by active co-operation in the hills; and as in the present aspect of affairs, with reference to the conduct of His Highness and the Lahore Government, I am by no means satisfied that there is an obligation on our part to put down the rebellion by British bayonets, I propose to continue our co-operation to the mode already agreed upon between the Political agent and his Vakeel.

I say, the present aspect of affairs, with reference to the conduct of both parties, for you will observe that it is stated in respect to Maharajah Golab Sing, that his Vizier and troops having been put in possession of the chief fort, the Hurree Purbut, he opened negotiations with Sheik Imamooddeen, as to continuing in the civil government of the province, and requested the Sheik to remain till he sent full reinforcements to assume military occupation; and in respect to the Durbar, that the most serious accusations (supported by strong presumptive evidence) are made of the recusance of the Sheik to leave Cashmere, and his subsequent misconduct being attributable to the secret instructions, he received from the Vizier.

His Highness is well aware that he has by his own injudicious arrangements with the Sheik Imamooddeen, brought upon himself much of the embarrasment under which he is now labouring, but which he attributes, and probably with reason, to the intrigues of the Vizier Lall Sing.

• If a further demonstration towards Bhinber should be advisable, I shall not hesitate to move up that portion of the Lahore force ordered to be in readiness, uniting it with the force from the Julunder, if both cross the Chenab, keeping one or two regiments in the neighbourhood of Jummoo, should it be absolutely required.

If the operations by Maharajah Golab Sing and the Sikh troops against Cashmere should be long protracted or fail, and the portion of our troops on the Chenab should be required to remain in advance of Lahore beyond the end of December, I shall, of course, continue to hold Lahore by a strong British garrison.

I am in hourly expectation of receiving more explicit information of the state of affairs, in the neighbourhood of Rajourie; and my impression is, in

the absence of the information I require, that I shall move up the Lahore portion of the force now held in readiness to march, and replace it by the troops from Ferozepore."

There is one passage in the above which strikes us as inconclusive. Lord Hardinge says, "It appears to me also improbable that Rajah Lal Singh should have committed himself to the extent of signing letters written by the Sheikh's Vakîl, but it is not unlikely that he may under the impulse of his hatred of Maharajah Golab Singh, have held conversations with the Vakîl encouraging the Sheikh," &c. &c.

Had Lord Hardinge been less unwilling to believe the Vizier's duplicity, and half as willing to get rid of him, as a Calcutta paper (the *Star*) would have us think, he would have argued the matter better. For giving Lal Singh every credit for prudence, we must allow some also to the Sheikh; and if the affair was so ticklish that discovery would be fatal to the prime minister of the Punjab; *à fortiori*, did it behoove a provincial Governor to have a warrant for his share in it. Doubtless Rajah Lal Singh would only have been too glad if the Sheikh had consented to be made a cat's paw of, and opposed an ally of the British Government, without any written authority from his own. But Imam-ud-dîn had once before murdered the "Lord Treasurer" of Lahore to oblige his friend Lal Singh (who being a Brahman did not like to kill another Brahman *himself*) and, after taking the trouble to cut his victim into little pieces to avoid discovery, some how or other the affair got wind, and the Sheikh bore all the blame.\* So it is no wonder that he had grown wiser, and refused to do business with Lal Singh again, until he had the deed of partnership in his pocket.

On the 23d October, the Governor-General informs the Secret Committee that

"Sheikh Immooddeen has put a stop to all hostile operations against the Fort of Hurree Purbut, occupied by the Maharajah's troops; he has formally declared his submission to the Lahore Government, and his intention of surrendering himself to Lieutenant Edwardes, who is accompanying the troops of Maharajah Golab Singh."

But adds—

"It is impossible to rely with confidence on the sincerity of the assurances of a person of the Sheikh's character, and under the influence which he is described, in these papers, as being exposed to; but my belief is, that, as he was certainly making no preparations to oppose the Lahore and Jummoo troops in the passes, he has, by this time surrendered, and that

\* This refers to the once mysterious murder of Mir Belf Ram, at Lahore.



by the next mail I shall have the gratification of reporting to you the termination of this affair."

The two allusions in the last paragraph require elucidation, and it is evident that the authors of the Blue Book have been keeping some of Lord Hardinge's *good things* to themselves. We will endeavour to fill up the hiatus with "the character" of Sheikh Imam-úd-dín. The Sheikh (be it known to the ladies!) is perhaps the best mannered and best dressed man in the Punjab. He is rather under than above the middle height; but his figure is exquisite, "as far as it goes," and is usually set off with the most accurate *fit* which the unrivalled tailors of Kashmír could achieve for the Governor of the province. His smile and bow are those of a perfect courtier, whose taste is too good to be obsequious; his great natural intelligence, and an unusually good education have endowed him with considerable conversational powers; and his Persian idiom would do no dishonor to a native of Shiraz. Beneath this smooth surface of accomplishment and courtesy, lies an ill-assorted and incongruous disposition; ambition, pride, cruelty, and intrigue; strangely mixed up with indolence, effeminacy, voluptuousness, and timidity. From such *pluses* and *minuses* what result can be expected but a moral cypher? Deeply engaged in the intrigues and revolutions of Lahore, he was never to be found at the crisis of any of them; and so completely are all his aspirations negatived by indecision, that he spent the six months of his Kashmír Government, in wavering between three different schemes for his own personal aggrandisement; doubtful whether to accept Golab Singh's offer, and continue Governor on a salary of one lakh per annum; to oppose the transfer of the province to that prince which Rajah Lal Singh told him should be a receipt in full for his Kashmír accounts; or to try to buy over the British, and make himself independant sovereign of the loveliest valley in the world. We shall see presently that he chose the most senseless of the three; and to save himself from the consequences, on the first appearance of danger, he turned "King's evidence," and sacrificed his accomplice.

Our readers will now understand what the Governor-General meant by saying that "it was impossible to rely with confidence on the *sincerity of the assurances of a person of the Sheikh's character.*" It remains to tell them what "*the influence*" was, to which he was "exposed." We have already alluded to the voluptuousness of Seikh Imam-úd-dín; and must leave to the imagination the full meaning of the word when applied to any one

*par excellence*, in climes where polygamy is religion, and concubinage limited only by the wealth of individuals. Suffice it that not only Hindustan and the Punjab, but Persia, Affghanistan, and even the mountain fastnesses of the fair-faced Secah Posh are said to have been searched for beauty to adorn his harem. What wonder then that when he came to

“ ——— the vale of Kashmir

With its roses the brightest that earth ever gave.

Its temples and grottoes and fountains as clear,

As the love-lighted eyes that hang over its wave.”

his expansive heart spontaneously opened to receive the belle of the Kohistan, whose charms were the theme of all the poets of the valley. He wooed, won, and married the daughter of Moiz-úd-din Khan of Kurnár, but soon found that he was not “mated with a dove.” The most masculine spirit lay hid beneath the woman’s form; and the effeminate, hesitating rebel found not as he had expected in her arms, a respite from the reproaches of his officers and allies. Proud of her Highland blood, and bigotted in her faith, she urged the Sheikh by turns with taunt and wile, to listen to the chiefs of the surrounding mountains, declare himself king\* of Kashmir, and raise at once the standard of independance and Mahomedanism. It was a bold plan, and a tempting one; the winter was rapidly approaching; the passes would soon be closed; the slightest opposition would oblige the Sikh and Jammú leaders, to defer the campaign to the spring. And what might not happen.—What might not be effected in four months? The four battles on the Sutlej were fought in half the time. The Huzarahs, the Yúzufzyes, Khyberis, and indeed all the mountain tribes south of the Indian Caucasus might have echoed the “Ya Ali!” the Affghans of the Damun and Derajat might have driven the Sikhs across the Indus, and Akbar Khan might have seized the opportunity to strike a blow at both the Sikh and the Feriñghee by recovering Peshawur.\* Such at all events were the hopes and calculations of Sheikh Imam-úd-din’s ambitious bride; and when his weaker spirit shrunk from so vast a scheme, she refused to admit him into her chamber. Such then was the nature of “the influence to which Sheikh Imam-úd-din was exposed,” and with the example of Rani Junda before him, Lord Hardinge may well have thought it dangerous.

\* We say “might” on good authority; for we have been told that in a valorous moment the Sheikh actually did invite the co-operation of Kabul. Our readers may amuse themselves with speculating on the probabilities of the invitation being accepted or declined.

While the Sheikh was making up his mind, the Sikh and Jammú troops were marching on Kashmír. Their routes met at Rajawur, the chief town of a hill principality of other days. The Rajah ("Ruhímúllah") was in exile : and his son Fukírúllah was the most active leader in the rebel army. He cared little for Sheikh Imam-úd-dín, and perhaps enquired not into his motives ; espousing his cause, neither for the sake of "liberating the Kashmírís," nor of "propagating the Mahommedan religion;" but of re-establishing in the scramble the independence of Rajawur. So long, therefore, as the Sheikh maintained his courage, and seemed likely to keep Maharajah Golab Singh at bay, Fukírúllah's voice was ever the loudest in his council for war ; and the only encounter which actually took place in the field between the Sheikh's troops and the Maharajah's, Fukírúllah was said to have commenced. But when the Jammú and Sikh armies drew close upon Rajawur ; and the Sheikh, instead of fortifying the passes, began to negotiate with the British political officers, Fukírúllah, with the same energetic selfishness, turned round, made good terms for himself, and precipitated the Sheikh into submission. The coming in of Fukírúllah is related in the following letter, together with the considerations which rendered it important, but the military reader must refer to the map, if he wishes to understand the value of Rajawur, as a *post* in a Kashmír campaign :—

No 6.

*The Governor-General of India to the Secret Committee.*

(Extract.)

*Camp, Mundi, November 3, 1846. (No. 49.)*

"I herewith transmit the letter, addressed by Lieutenant Edwardes, Assistant Political Agent to Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, reporting that the Chief of Rajourie had, on the 19th of October, in person submitted himself to the British authorities and to the Maharajah Golab Sing.

This chief is not only at the head of one of the most powerful Mussulman tribes in the hills on the Punjab side of the Peer Pinjal Pass into Cashmere, but has the reputation of being a leader of well-established energy and decision of character. His secession from the Sheikh Imarnooddeen, could not fail to have a strong influence in inducing the other Mahomedan chiefs to forsake the Sheikh's cause, and I have every reason to believe that the greater portion of these petty chiefs have already withdrawn their forces and retired to their homes.

A more important fact is, however, reported in a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, of the 25th October, in which he reports that the Sheikh had written from one march on this side of the city of Cashmere, on the 23rd October, stating that he had left Cashmere on that day, according to his promise, and had made one day's march towards the Barramula Pass; and one of the messengers stated that the Sheikh had delivered up the fort of Sher Gurree, and town of Cashmere, Vizier Rutnoo, the officer of the Maharajah Golab Sing left in command of the Hurree Purbut.

I daily expect to hear from Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, that the Sheik has presented himself to him in the Maharajah's camp.

The movement of the troops will, however, still continue, and you will observe by the statement contained in Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence's demi-official letter of the 24th of October that, in addition to the force under Sirdar Tej Sing, a body of Sikh troops under Sirdar Chuttur Sing and Shere Sing, from Rawul Pindee, had passed Poonch, and were marching towards Sirdar Tej Sing, for the purpose of entering Cashmere, as near as it may be practicable to the force under the latter, instead of advancing into Cashmere by the Barramula Pass, thereby effecting a concentration of the Sikh forces.

A portion of the force under Maharajah Golab Sing had united with the Sikh force under Tej Sing, near Thanah.

The British force which marched from the Julunder, under Brigadier Wheeler, had crossed to the right bank of the Chenab River and that which had marched from Lahore, under Major-General Sir J. Littler, remained on the left bank of the Chenab, ready in twenty-four hours to form a junction with Brigadier Wheeler, and advance on Bhimber or Nowshera, whenever required to do so.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence states that these combined forces amount to about 30,000 men, and he expresses his satisfaction at the very cheerful manner in which the Sikh troops have performed long and harassing marches.

I confidently expect to hear that the Sheik has submitted without a further struggle. I defer making any comment on the recent events in Cashmere, until I receive Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence's report, giving the Sheik's explanation of his conduct, and I equally defer expressing to you the approbation I feel for the ability and energy displayed by Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, Mr. J. Lawrence, Lieutenant Edwardes, and Lieutenant Lumsden, during these transactions.

The city of Lahore and the neighbouring country remain in a state of perfect tranquillity."

The readers of history will pause and ponder with interest over those passages of the above quoted dispatch which record the cheerful co-operation of the Sikh troops. In a subsequent letter (No. 7, November 21st, 1846) Lord Hardinge himself draws particular attention to the incident:—

"The conduct of the Sikh troops, under the same officers that led them so lately in their invasion of our provinces, now employed in carrying out the conditions of the Treaty of Lahore, (and perhaps the least palatable part of those conditions,) under the instructions of British officers, cannot but command your admiration."

Properly considered, this feat, of compelling the culpable Lahore Durbar (with the chief conspirator at its head) to make over, in the most marked and humiliating manner, the richest province in the Punjab to the one man most detested by the Khalsa, was the real victory of the campaign, and its achievement must continue an enigma to every one who remembers, that this national penance was performed by 10,000 Sikh soldiers at the bidding and under the guidance of two or three British officers within eight months of the battle of Sobraon.

The following letter drops the curtain on the first act of the drama:—

No 7.

*The Governor General to the Secret Committee.*

(Extract.)

*Camp, Nairac, November 21, 1846. (No 55.)*

"On closing my last letter to you, relative to the affairs of Cashmere, I stated my confident hope of being able, when I next addressed you, to announce the complete occupation, by Maharajah Golab Sing, of the Province of Cashmere.

That hope has been realized. The Maharajah entered the capital on the morning of the 9th of this month, and was, when the last accounts came away, engaged in arrangements for the administration of the country.

The arrival of Maharajah Golab Sing in Cashmere is described by Colonel Lawrence as by no means displeasing to the inhabitants of the province, who were loud in their complaints of the tyranny and oppression of Sheik Imamooddeen.

Sheik Imamooddeen left Cashmere, according to his promise, on the 23rd of October, and reached the camp of the Governor-General's Agent at Thanah on the 1st instant.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence's letters of the 1st and 2nd of the month describe what passed at his first interviews with the Sheik, who placed in Colonel Lawrence's hands three original documents, purporting to be instructions from the Minister Rajah Lall Sing to the Sheik, to oppose Maharajah Golab Sing; and to the officers and soldiers in Cashmere, to be faithful and obedient to the orders of the Sheik.

On the return of Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence to Lahore, which will take place before the end of the month, a strict investigation will be made into the authenticity of these documents, and into the conduct of Rajah Lall Sing, in respect to the Cashmere rebellion—the result of which inquiry, and the proceedings I may think it necessary to adopt in reference to the circumstances and facts that may be elicited, I shall report fully hereafter.

My present intention is, that Mr. Currie should proceed to Lahore, to meet Colonel Lawrence on his return, when the investigation will be conducted by these officers in concert,—and when, it is probable, a formal application will be made by the Chiefs, in the name of the Maharajah and themselves, for the continuance of a British force at Lahore."

The third paragraph of this letter is one which must have been read with the liveliest satisfaction by our countrymen in England, who had been taught to believe that the rebellion of Sheikh Imam-ud-din was an insurrection of the people of Kashmir against the sovereign who had been forced on them by the British Indian Government. Even in India, that part of the Press which was opposed to the policy pursued in the Punjab, for a long while maintained that it was a national movement; the fact being that *from beginning to end of the rebellion not a single Kashmiri took up arms on either side*, but looked on at the struggle with the unmixed alarm of a cowardly and degraded yet industrious people. To them both armies were alike odious; for they disturbed the peace of the valley, destroy-

ed trade, and *made rice dear*. Moreover they felt certain that whoever the conqueror might be, the Sheikh or the Maharajah, their fate would be the same, viz. to be squeezed to the utmost possible extent, unless protected by the British Government.

It being our constant desire to register in these pages those passing contemporary facts which may one day become the materials of history, we are happy in being able to subjoin the following memorandum of "The army of Sheikh Imam-ud-din," as it was in Kashmíri, when besieging the Hurri Purbut:—

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
| Regular soldiers, in the pay of Sheikh Imamoodeen.— |             |
| Sikhs, Punjabees, Hindostanees and a few Roheyluhs. | 11,850*     |
| Hill men, followers of the Kukka Bhumba, and other  |             |
| Kohistanee chiefs, who came down from the mountains | 4,250       |
| to assist the Sheiks .....                          |             |
| Total...  | 15,600 men. |

So much for the insurrection of the Kashmírís:—

No. 8.

*The Governor-General to the Secret Committee*

(Extract.) *Camp, Sham-Chpurassie, December 4, 1846. (No. 57.)*

"In my last dispatch I announced the occupation of the Province of Cashmere by the troops of Maharajah Golab Sing.

The British force which I had moved up to the Chenab River, amounting to 11,000 men and 24 guns, have returned to Lahore and our own provinces, having, in concert with the Sikh troops and those of the Maharajah Golab Sing, accomplished all the objects which I had in contemplation when the movement was ordered. I was anxious that this force should move out of the Punjab before the investigation into the Sheikh's conduct in Cashmere should commence, in order that there should be no appearance of resorting to military coercion on that occasion, or in any of the subsequent proceedings at Lahore.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence has with his usual activity, returned from Cashmere to Lahore.

It will be gratifying to you to learn, that the conduct of the Maharajah throughout the late operations, is described by the Political Agent as most satisfactory. His Highness has acquiesced in several proposals most judiciously made to him by Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the people, as well as for the more regular and liberal payment of His Highness' troops.

The Maharajah has agreed to continue to the Hill Chiefs all jagheers, granted to them one year before the Sheikh Mohecooddeen's death, and further to remit one-fifth of the tribute formerly paid by all to the successive Sikh Governors.

The Chiefs of Rajourie and Jesrotas have received assignments of land bordering on the British territory; and, with two exceptions which are satisfactorily accounted for, all the Chiefs of the Hill districts have made their submission to the Maharajah.

\* In this are included 500 men brought by Mirza Fakir Ullah, of Rajawur.

It may be considered an indication of the confidence of these Chiefs, and of the good understanding which exists between them and the Maharajah, that although His Highness offered to give up lands upon the guarantee of the British Government that the stipends agreed upon should be paid to any of the Chiefs who preferred to reside in the British territories, all expressed their willingness to remain under his Government.

I am also in hopes that arrangements will be made with the Maharajah, by which the cultivators of the soil in Cashmere may be relieved from much of the oppression which they have hitherto experienced whilst under the Sikh rule, by the custom of re-selling at an arbitrary rate that portion of the crops taken by the Sovereign as his revenue.

The Maharajah distinctly pledges himself to relinquish the practice of trading on his own account in the produce of the country, which, if persisted in under an arbitrary Government, cannot fail to impoverish, and ultimately ruin all classes of his subjects.

The Maharajah has issued proclamations for the levy of customs at points fixed on the frontier, and for the abolition of inland duties. His Highness has also determined upon assembling the heads of villages, with the view of fixing, in concert with them, the rates at which the Government grain shall be sold.

The Maharajah has at the same time consented, that the crime of infanticide, prevalent among the Rajpoot population in his dominions, shall be strictly prohibited under severe penalties; and that he will use his best endeavours to abolish the rite of Suttee.

I shall take every opportunity of encouraging His Highness to persevere in these good intentions. The population of Cashmere, since the conquest of the country by the Sikhs, has been brought to so low a state of poverty, as to render extortion no longer profitable. The means of plundering the people have been exhausted; and I confidently expect, under the Maharajah's government, that their condition will improve, as His Highness is too sagacious not to discover his own permanent interest; and it is but just to state, that, according to the testimony of recent travellers, the peasantry under the immediate rule of the Maharajah around Jummoo, are in a superior state of comfort to the ryots of the petty chiefs in the hills."

Our next extract from the Blue Book completes this part of the subject; and shews that, by whatever barbarities, Golab Singh may have raised himself to power, he is not incapable of making a good use of it. If he realize but half of the picture here drawn of his Lahore Government, he will be entitled to a place among the most enlightened Asiatic rulers :—

Inclosure 1 in No. 8.

*The Governor-General to Frederick Currie, Esq., Secretary to the  
Government of India, with the Governor-General.*

(Extract.)

*Camp, Hoshiarpore, November 23, 1846.*

"In my dispatch to the Secret Committee of the 19th of September, in which the probable necessity of exercising a direct and active influence in the Government of Lahore is discussed, I stated that it was my intention, before I undertook such a line of policy, to depute you to Lahore, for the purpose of receiving full reports of the real state of affairs, having the utmost confidence in your experience, sound judgment, and ability, and

to associate Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence with you in such mission, since which period that officer has, by his energy and talents, justified all my anticipations, by overcoming the difficulties which had arisen out of the Cashmere insurrection.

You will, therefore, be so good as to make your arrangements to proceed to Lahore on a special mission as the representative of the Governor-General, where you will meet Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, the end of this month.

The first question which will require your immediate attention, will be an investigation into the conduct of the Sheik Inamooddeen, in resisting, by force of arms, the execution of the Lahore Treaty, relating to the cession of the Province of Cashmere. *The line of defence which he has adopted, by asserting that he has acted in obedience to the orders of the Lahore Government, of which he was the servant, will indirectly, but substantially, place the Vizier Rajah Lall Sing on his trial.*

The whole of the papers and documents having passed through your department, you are fully apprized of all the details, into which I need not enter. The result, however, of the investigation, will probably produce important consequences as affecting the Government of which the Ranee is the head as Regent, and the Rajah Lall Sing the Vizier.

*If it be proved that the Vizier secretly encouraged the Sheik to violate the Treaty which the Lahore Durbar was bound faithfully to carry into effect, the immediate consequence of this betrayal of duty to the Maharajah Duleep Sing, and of good faith to the British Government, will be the deposition of the Vizier.*

If the authenticity of the documents produced by the Sheik, in palliation of his own criminal conduct, be disproved, that individual must take the consequences of his own misdeeds; but it is apparent, from the nature of the papers which he has produced, that *the investigation will in reality be the trial of the Vizier Rajah Lall Sing and the Durbar.*

The conviction of the Lahore Government in being implicated in a gross and violent infraction of the Lahore Treaty, might, if pushed to the extreme limit of our right, lead to very serious consequences; *but it is not my intention to make the Lahore State responsible for the misconduct of one or more individuals*, when there is every reason to believe that the misconduct is to be attributed to personal hatred of the Maharajah Golab Sing, and not to any political combination to violate the Treaty with the British Government. The individuals, however, who may be implicated must be held responsible for their conduct in this transaction, whatever may have been the original object of the intrigue. *I am, however, disposed to give to the chiefs and to the Sikh soldiery, the greatest credit for their meritorious conduct, in promptly and loyally obeying the orders they received to march to Cashmere, under difficult and adverse circumstances, cheerfully acting under the advice of British officers.*

This praiseworthy conduct will be prominently brought forward in the letter to the Maharajah, apprising His Highness of my intention to depute you to Lahore; and I need scarcely observe, that the good temper and cordial co-operation of the Sikh troops under Sirdar Tej Sing, in the accomplishment of an object in which they might naturally be expected to act with reluctance, *is an atonement, as far as the State is concerned, for the breach of the Treaty by a servant of the Durbar, if I am to assume that the Vizier is implicated in the Sheik's misconduct.*

*It is, however, clear, that the investigation will compel the Vizier and the Durbar, publicly to vindicate their conduct.*

It, therefore, becomes an object of importance, that the forms and mode



of the investigation should be carefully considered. With the experience you possess while presiding in our courts of law in the Regulation Provinces, I have no doubt you will deem it to be an essential object, so to arrange the inquiry into the Sheik's conduct, in concert with the Lahore authorities, *that there shall be no ground for suspicion in any quarter as to the fairness of the proceeding.* The trial is that of a public officer of the Maharajah's, who on certain conditions, surrendered himself to the Political Agent of the British Government. It is very difficult to devise a mode of trial which is not open to some objection. The justice of the case, however, will require that you, Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, and Mr. J. Lawrence, should, in the presence of the Durbar and Chiefs assembled for the purpose, state that a flagrant breach of treaty has been committed by Shick Imam-odeen, the servant of the Lahore Government, of which the British Government has just reason to complain, and that, as he pleads in justification of his conduct, the orders he received from his own Government, it will be necessary to proceed in so grave and important an inquiry with all due forms of deliberation. And I need scarcely recommend that the minutes of all the proceedings be recorded with the utmost precision.

In the event of the Sheik succeeding in exonerating himself, by proving that he acted in obedience to the orders of the Vizier, the Rajah's deposition from power, and his immediate exile from the Punjab into the British territories, will be demanded, under such arrangements as may be determined upon, after the whole case has been fully investigated.

In the latter case, it is probable that the interposition of the Rance in his favour will be attempted, and that Her Highness will not consent to his exile without great reluctance.

*Facilities may be afforded, arising out of this state of things, to deprive Her Highness of power. The great scandal which Her Highness' intercourse with the Vizier has caused, has rendered her government as Regent odious to the people; and her deprivation of power would be justified, on the ground that the notoriety of her profligacy has been carried to an extent which disqualifies her for the duty of acting as the Regent of the Lahore State during the minority of her son.*

If the British Government should be called upon by the Chiefs to act in behalf of the minor, for the preservation of the Raj, and the maintenance of tranquillity, there can be no doubt that *Her Highness must cease to have any authority as Regent, her conduct being so abandoned as to be a serious impediment to the success of any Government.*"

The next letter commences Act the 2nd. The Sheikh having made good the promise of his Vakil Pûrun Chund, and given up the written orders to rebel which he had received from Rajah Lal Singh, it became necessary to ascertain their authenticity or falsity. This some people deny; the same people who justify "the conquest of Sindh." They say that the papers had nothing to do with the question: and that reading them even was quite a work of supererogation; that the Lahore Durbar should have been held responsible for the acts of Sheikh Imam-ûd-dîn, in the same way that Mîr Rûstum was held responsible by Sir Charles Napier for the non-delivery of the two penny post in his dominions! And herein to us consists the value of the present Blue Book that it shews what a stride the British India Government has made in

*political morality* since the conquest of Sindh. We just note *en passant* for the benefit of our readers the following

*Pleasing Discrepancies.*

SIR CHARLES NAPIER.

"My dawks have been robbed either by your orders, or without your orders. If you ordered it to be done you are guilty; or if it was done without your order, you are not able to command your people, and it is evident they won't obey you. In either case I order you to disband your armed men; and I will myself see in Khyrpûr, that you obey my order."

\* \* \* \*

"I was resolved when there was a breach of treaty, whether great or small, I would hold all the Amîrs responsible, and would not be played off like a shuttle-cock, and told *this* was done by one Amir, *that* by another, and so have a week's enquiry to find out who was responsible for the aggression."

LORD HARDINGE.

"The conviction of the Lahore Government of being guilty of a gross and violent infraction of the Lahore treaty might, if pushed to the extreme limit of our right, lead to very serious consequences; but it is not my intention to make the Lahore State responsible for the misconduct of one or more individuals, &c. &c."

MR. SECRETARY CURRIE.

"— it is our intention to place the Rajah immediately under surveillance in his own house, under charge of Sirdar Tej Singh, the Commander-in-Chief, holding the latter responsible for his safe custody, pending your instructions, and intimating to the Durbar that it is not your intention to visit the offence on the subordinate members of Government personally, or to allow this treachery of the minister to his own Sovereign (involving though it does an insult to the British Government) to affect the relations which have been entered into with the Maharajah."

The sentiments above proclaimed by the British Government beyond the Sutlej, are calculated to raise it in the eyes of the Native Princes, as much as those published beyond the Indus were to destroy all confidence in British justice. The advocates of annexation may still maintain that Lord Hardinge committed an error in not taking the Pûnjab in February 1846; for that is a mere matter of *policy* and *opinion*: but even if Lord Hardinge had seen reason to alter his convictions—if he had come to regret that he had not annexed the Pûnjab at first, we trust there are few Englishmen who will say, that after entering with Maharajah Dhulîp Singh into the treaty of March 1846, he would have been justified in seizing upon the Kashmîr rebellion as an opportunity for rectifying his error. This point is no matter of opinion; it is a matter of national *honour*, affecting every native state with which we are in alliance; for it is a question whether the word we pledge in all our Indian treaties is the mere literal word of a

professed hair-splitting lawyer, or the honest word of an Englishman which means the idea that it conveys. *Legally*, there can be no doubt, that the Governor-General might have held this language to the Durbar. "By Article IV. of the treaty of 9th March, you were bound to cede to the British the province of Kashmír. Instead of ceding it, your Governor held it against the Governor whom the British appointed, to receive it, and put us to the expence of taking the field with an army. It is true that you also hurried up troops to make over Kashmír to Maharajah Golab Singh; but this was either to keep up appearances and prove that the Sheikh was acting without your orders; or else you were alarmed at the serious light in which the British looked at the affair, and made over Kashmír only to save the rest of your dominions. It is true also that British officers accompanied those troops, and led you to believe, that even at the eleventh hour, if the transfer of Kashmír should be effected, no more would be said about the matter. But this was only a little *ruse de guerre*; and you are now formally apprised that the Governor-General considers the act of any one of your servants, as the act of the state; that the Maharajah must be punished for either the duplicity of Rajah Lal Singh, or the rebellion of Sheikh Imam-ud-dín; and that consequently he will be treated as the infringer of treaties, and his dominions be annexed to British India."

This language, we say, might *legally* have been held by the Governor-General; and the last paragraph in particular (wherein the odium of infringing the treaty is transferred to the other party) would have been thought rather smart and dexterous by the old school of diplomacy.

But put it beside the passages we have quoted in our "Pleasing Discrepancies," and it must be acknowledged that the principles laid down by Lord Hardinge are both honest in themselves, and offer a broader basis for political relations. The one is the justice of a Shylock; the other of Portia. A British treaty, of friendship and alliance should be felt to be a *rock* beneath any native state with which we have relations: and a quibbling construction put upon its terms be looked upon as a mine driven into it by night. Peace would then be able to alight on certain ground; and not stand tip-toe, with wings half-folded and half-spread. On the other hand the Political authorities would do well to define their own principles; to see clearly where they are leading us. For the question intrudes itself, "How far does this generous justice go?" Is it with the individual Maharajah Dhullip Singh

alone that we have made a treaty? And if all the Sirdars and all the army conspire together and intrigue against or attack us: are we merely to banish the former to Hindustan and disband the latter, if it should appear that a child of nine or ten, or twelve or fifteen years of age did not organize the plot? Are we to conclude in short (for it comes to that) that the new treaty of December 1846, which is limited to the nonage of the Maharajah, must necessarily, arbitrarily, and under any possible circumstances of treason in the Punjab, be binding on us to the very last, *because* Dhulip Singh is a minor, and it is not right to make him responsible for the acts of ministers who are ruling in his place? This question requires an answer; and will probably be the first which Lord Hardinge's successor will strive to resolve by perusal of his farewell minutes. It is much to be hoped that that nobleman will leave no doubt on this interesting point: but meet the difficulty which his own policy has created. Cordially approving of that policy, we yet see no reason why having avoided the Scylla of questionable absorption, we are to rush head-long into the Charybdis of Quixotic endurance. *It is with the Lahore State and not with Maharajah Dhulip Singh, that we have entered into alliance.* The Sikh chiefs and jaghirdars, the merchants and the people; the possessors of the land and its riches; and the army whose discipline vouches for their friendship, and whose excesses represent their enmity; these are they whom we forgave in March 1846; to whose interests we were faithful in December of the same year; whom we distinguished and separated from Rajah Lal Singh, a traitor as much to them as to us; whose rank we ought to respect, whose jaghirs we ought to confirm, whose pay we ought to secure so long, and so long only, as in bodies they are true to us. A hole-and-corner conspiracy, an individual reason, or even an occasional bullet should not be visited on the state; such things happen both in London and Paris. But in the harem by his mother's side the boy-sovereign imbibes unconsciously hatred of Rajah Lal Singh's deponents, instead of gratitude to the restorers of his own throne; if as time goes on, parasites should find in him a second Nao Nihal, and persuade him ere the down sprouts on his lip, that he is quite equal to governing the Punjab; if year by year as the treaty draws near its close, Sikh feeling should revive, and the memory of Sikh anarchy decay; if the cowed Sirdars, who in December 1846, shrunk from another contest with the Khalsa army, should, in 1850, think we have reduced it to their own level, and that it is just strong enough to conspire with, just weak enough for them to rule; if, in short, it ever comes to pass, that the

Durbar and the army grow weary of our honesty, and our economy, and either with or *without* the sanction of the Maharajah, combine to throw us off in a spirit which would render *friendly relations hopeless*, and restore our frontier to the condition that it was in before the war—then no voice will be louder than ours for “punishing the state,” and annexing the Punjab, though a Royal Minor be the lord of both.

In the above remarks, we have endeavoured to shew that it was an honest policy to bring Sheikh Imam-ud-din and Rajah Lal Singh to trial, that the guilt of the Kashmir rebellion might be brought home to one of them; than to annex the Punjab as a punishment for an assumed breach of the treaty of 9th March, 1846.

We come next to the way in which it was done. The trial of the Sheikh and Vizier determined on, Lord Hardinge deputed Mr. Currie to Lahore, with the intention apparently of his being president of a commission of which Colonel Lawrence, C. B. and his brother, Mr. John Lawrence, (then officiating agent at Lahore) were to be the British members. We say “the *British* members,” for the Governor-General’s direction to Mr. Currie, “so to arrange the inquiry into the Sheikh’s conduct, *in concert with the Lahore authorities*, that there shall be no ground for suspicion in any quarter as to the fairness of the proceeding,” shews that His Lordship contemplated the possible necessity of associating with those officers some members of the Durbar. In this way, at all events, Mr. Currie must have understood Lord Hardinge; for in his reply he writes—“I have consulted with Lieut. Col. Lawrence, C. B. and with Mr. J. Lawrence upon this subject, and we have determined that it is impossible to associate any of the members of the Durbar with us as judges of the conduct of Sheikh Imam-ud-din.”

If Lord Hardinge had not left it an open question, Mr. Currie would not have consulted anybody about it, or given Lord Hardinge his reasons in detail for not doing what he had no authority to do. In the end, however, no Sirdars were placed upon the commission; but two more British officers, Major General Sir John Littler, K. C. B. and Colonel Goldie. Mr. Currie’s reasons are given in full in the following extract:—

“I have consulted with Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, C. B., and with Mr. J. Lawrence, upon this subject, and we have determined that it is impossible to associate any of the members of the Durbar with us as judges of the conduct of Sheikh Imamooddeen. His plea and grounds of defence are known to all;” and they directly implicate the Durbar; the matter at issue

being, whether he was, or was not, acting in accordance to their instructions in forcibly opposing the occupation of Cashmere by Maharajah Golarab Sing, and in raising the rebellion in that province.

Neither could we associate with us other Chiefs not members of the Durbar. In the first place, this would be calling on the subjects of the Lahore State to sit in judgment on the acts of their Government, and in the next, it would be impossible to find any Chief who is not a friend or enemy of the Vizier, and interested either in his conviction or acquittal.

The only mode of fairly redeeming the promise under which Sheik Imam-odddeen surrendered, and of doing impartial justice to all, appears to us to be, that the Sheik's conduct and defence should be investigated by a tribunal of the British officers, in the presence of the parties interested in the result of the trial.

I have, therefore, requested General Littler to join us in this inquiry, and to nominate another intelligent officer of high rank, also to act as a member; and we propose that the Court shall consist of myself as President, Major-General Littler and Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, Mr. John Lawrence, and Lieutenant-Colonel Goldie, (the officer General Littler seems to desire to name,) as members.

Rajah Lal Sing, with all the officers of the Durbar, and most of the leading and influential Sirdars of the State, will be requested to attend. The investigation will commence at 8 A. M. to-morrow, and I have every reason to hope will close by the afternoon, when the result in full detail will be communicated to you."

This account of the arrangement seems to us to be straightforward and satisfactory: the reasons given are such as without the aid of "the Blue Book" most probably suggested themselves to every mind on first perusal of the trial in the columns of the *Delhi Gazette*. A most extraordinary objection has however been raised by a Calcutta contemporary in reviewing the papers before us;—to wit, that the trial was not *judicial*—the constitution of the court not *legal*! What does "*The Eastern Star*" mean by not *legal*? Does he literally mean not according to law? And if so, of what law is he asserting the offended Majesty? The law of England; the law of the regulation provinces; the law of Mahommed; or the law of the Dharma Shastras? Does he stickle for the criminal being tried by twelve men or five? by a jury of his peers or a punchayat of elders? If he had given the matter a second thought, how inapplicable is all civil law from the laws of Manu to the Acts of Parliament, to the trial of political offenders in general; how particularly inapplicable to an inquiry between two foreign states whose domestic laws seem *illegal* to each other. No civil law that we are aware of was violated by either Sheikh Imam-ud-din or Rajah Lal Singh: as agents of the Lahore Government they sinned against the law of nations which stands upon the broad basis of mutual justice, unconfined by technicalities, and open to common sense. It was not a matter for attorneyship at all; and to say that the

trial was *illegal* is nothing to the point. The object was simply to do justice to both governments; not to act up to the terms of a "statute;" to decide between two ministers of a friendly state who mutually accused each other of violating treaty, which was the guilty party; or whether either or both of them were acting under the instructions of their sovereign and our ally. To do this a *lawyer* was not wanted; but a court of sensible and honest men, with the courage to return a verdict according to their judgment. It is right that the public should be told what chance there was of finding such men in the Lahore Court. The Durbar, out of which the *Star* regrets that Lal Singh's judges were not chosen, was composed of his *enemies*; of old Sirdars, or the sons of old Sirdars, among whose shoes he had once stood beyond the carpet; who detested him as an upstart; who would not have submitted to his assuming the Vizariat in September 1845; whose hatred had been exasperated a thousand-fold during the last year by his greedy appropriation of their jaghirs; and who had consoled themselves during the last three months of his administration by such ill-concealed plots for his destruction on the retirement of the British, that even Lord Hardinge in his letters anticipated his murder. Amongst them were three who had actually sworn to take his life: and a fourth who, removed by Lal Singh from the Nizamut of Peshawur *was marching on Lahore with troops to avenge the insult* when the rebellion in Kashmír broke out. Amongst them also, it is fair to add, that there were *two* men who were the Rajah's friends: but whether they would have assisted him if they had been on the jury may be reasonably doubted, since though present in the court at the trial, neither of them had the courage even to "speak to character." The only man indeed of the whole Durbar who defended the Vizier's conduct was Dewan Dina Nath; but that it was *ex officio* as "*Queen's Counsellor*," and not as a friend, would appear from an anecdote we have heard; that after the trial was over, when the chief Sirdars retired to Mr. Currie's tent to hear the verdict of the court; and *nemine dissente*, voted for the Rajah's deposition; Dewan Dina Nath was the very first to call the attention of the other Sirdars to the necessity of confiscating his property without delay, and seizing his relations; an agreeable duty which was confided to, —whom does the *Eastern Star* suppose?—*one of the Rajah's two friends!* It is clear, therefore, that though there might have been much *law*, there would have been little *justice* in handing over the Vizier to the tender mercies of his peers.

But suppose that the Vizier had been as popular in the Durbar as he was odious; can any one who has been six months in India, and once in a Judge's Cutchery, doubt for a moment that the very fact of putting the Vizier upon his trial would have been equivalent to packing the jury? The maxim that every man is innocent until he is proved guilty; and the possibility of his character coming out even brighter from the fire; are niceties which natives do not understand; and the difficulty increases in exact proportion with the rank of the offender. An accused minister in the East is as good as a condemned one. The arraignment of Lal Singh before a jury of his countrymen would in their eyes have been an unmistakable expression of our opinion; the whole jury would have considered his ruin as determined on, and worshipped the rising Sun by a verdict of "Guilty," even against their friend. Of this we are so confident that we think the political authorities would not have been justified in bringing Rajah Lal Singh to trial at all, unless morally convinced of his guilt themselves, and prepared with the means of convincing others; but the trial once decided on, it must be esteemed the most conclusive proof of their fairness, that they excluded from the tribunal, men well capable of forming, but utterly incapable of expressing, an opinion. Nay, more, it is our conscientious belief, that had Rajah Lal Singh been offered the choice of five British Officers, or a jury of his peers, to try him, he would have unhesitatingly chosen the former, and exclaimed in alarm, "save me from my friends."

In shewing that the danger of employing the Durbar as judges, was not that they would *acquit* Lal Singh, but *convict* him *coûte qui coûte*; we trust we have thrown a new light upon "the course pursued in forming at the capital of an ally, a court for the trial of the minister of the country in which no single native had a voice."\* But should the above explanation still seem insufficient, we would draw the attention of every one who has a doubt about the matter to one simple circumstance of the case which has been entirely overlooked, viz.—*that the enquiry into the causes and origin of the Kashmir rebellion was purely for the information and satisfaction of the British Government; an unanswerable reason for its being entrusted to British officers.* An article of the treaty between the Lahore and British Governments had been so grossly violated, that in appearance, as Lord Hardinge unmistakeably hints, it was sufficient "if pushed to extreme," to justify his declaring that treaty null and void, and proceeding to annex the Punjab. But

\* "Eastern Star," Calcutta, Saturday, May 29, 1847.



Lord Hardinge had every reason to believe that the Lahore State was innocent in the matter; and he was honestly desirous of ascertaining the truth; that he might know exactly on what ground he stood. And surely no one is so infatuated as to believe, that "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," was to be expected from any number of pliable Sirdars from two up to a million? As it was, the Governor-General was assured by five public servants of high standing and character that he had no cause to regret his alliance with the Lahore state; Rajah Lal Singh alone being in their opinion the proved originator of the rebellion. Upon this, the British Government, instead of an uncalled-for aggression, accepts the atonement of a bad minister's disgrace.

We have entered thus fully into the objections raised by the *Eastern Star*, not only because we have over and over again said that our pages are offerings made in a truthful spirit to the future historian of our times, and we deem it essential that the trial of the Lahore Vizier should be understood as a precedent; but because we believe our able contemporary to be sincere in the entertainment of opinions, which are founded on imperfect knowledge, and must vanish before explanation. Other and less scrupulous contemporaries there are, whose opinions are more hostile to the policy under discussion, but less worthy of correction. Indeed the generous conqueror of the Punjab, the maintainer of the dynasty of Runjít Singh, and the scrupulous interpreter of treaties, might not thank us for involving him in the good opinion of such public writers as are not content to admire, but must needs justify "the conquest of Sindh;" who defend the hunting down of old Mír Rústüm: subscribe to the Napier theory of treaties;\* recommend the dethronement of every native prince in India: and the abrogation of "the perpetual settlement of Bengal!"

The thread of the narrative cannot be better taken up than with the following concise summary of Mr. Currie's; to passages in which we have drawn our reader's attention by italics:—

Inclosure 1 in No. 9.

*F. Currie, Esq., to the Governor-General.*

MY LORD,

Lahore, December 5, 1848.

In continuation of my letter to your Lordship of the 2nd instant, I have the honour to report that, on the afternoon of that day, the members of the Durbar, with the more influential Chiefs, came to my Durbar tent, when I

\* Vide Sindh Blue Book; *passim*, but *ex. gra.*; Inclosure one in No. 279, October 17, 1842.

requested Khaleefa Noorooddeen to read aloud to them your Lordship's khureetta, and then explained to them the mode we proposed to adopt for conducting the investigation into the truth, or otherwise, of the statements made by the Sheik Imamooddeen.

*The Chiefs unanimously assented to the propriety of the measure, and declared that no other mode of investigation would be so satisfactory to themselves.*

They all expressed their desire to be present, and it was arranged that the investigation should commence at 8 o'clock the following morning.

Accordingly, soon after 8 o'clock on the morning of the 3rd, the Sheik having come from his camp at Shahderrah, and the Chiefs being assembled, the proceedings were commenced.

The court, if I may so call it, was composed of myself, as President Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, C.B. Major-General Sir John Littler, K.C.B. John Lawrence, Esq., and Lieutenant-Colonel Goldie, 12th Native Infantry, as members; and the proceedings were taken down for record in English by Captains Broome and Edwardes and Ensign Hodgson, and in Persian by the Meer Moonshee of my office, an officer of the Agency, and one attached to the establishment of Mr. John Lawrence. The proceedings were also taken down in Persian by Dewan Deena Nath and Vakeel Rae Kishén Chund, on the part of the Durbar.

The court was crowded with Chiefs: a list of those present is given with the detailed record of proceedings. *Your Lordship will see that there were sixty-five principal persons, exclusive of followers and Vakeels.*

I was never present in a more orderly or attentive assembly.

The examination of the evidence adduced by Sheik Imamooddeen in support of his statements occupied the first day till 3 in the afternoon. We thought it better to close the proceedings for that day, and give the Durbar time and opportunity to prepare their defence. The court, therefore, adjourned till 8 o'clock yesterday.

On its reassembly, all were again present, and several military officers also—a few only attended on the former day, not knowing that they would be permitted to do so.

The defence was then entered on by the Durbar, and occupied no less than two hours.

The proceedings in detail are inclosed for your Lordship's information.

A separate paper, drawn up by me, being an abstract of the proceedings, with our opinions on the evidence, and our unanimous decision as to the guilt of Rajah Lall Sing, also accompanies this letter. This paper is signed by all the members of the Commission.

It did not appear to me expedient that our decision should be proclaimed in that crowded and mixed assembly; I, therefore, proposed that the members of the Durbar, excepting Rajah Lall Sing, with the more influential chiefs, being the heads and representatives of the principal families, should djourn with us to my own tent. A list of these parties, twenty-two in number, will be found with the proceedings.

*I went through the whole of the evidence, carefully and deliberately to his assembly, and explained to them our decision, and the circumstances on which it was grounded.*

I then, at once, explained that your Lordship had directed me, if Sheik mamooddeen established his assertions, to state that it was not your intention, in consideration of the circumstances mentioned in your later instructions, to consider the misconduct of the Vizier as a violation of the Treaty, and as involving a termination of the relations which had been established between the two Governments, *provided the other members of the Durbar and the chiefs disclaimed participation in the offence; but I stated that*

*your Lordship did, in the event of the Rajah's conviction, demand his being forthwith deposed by the Maharajah from his office of Vizier, and held under surveillance pending your Lordship's further orders, as it was manifestly impossible that the Government of the Maharajah could be carried on with any prospect of success by one who had proved so faithless to His Highness' interests, or that the British Government could continue to act in concert with one who had so grievously offended against them.*

*All were unanimous in determining his immediate deposition from the Vizierut, in expressions of approbation of your Lordship's justice and gratitude for the consideration and kindness of the British Government.*

It was then agreed by the Sirdars that Rajah Lall Sing should be detained in the Durbar tent till his followers were removed from the Fort and Palace, which were to be placed under the charge of Sirdar Tej Sing, Dewan Deena Nath, and Sirdar Shere Sing, the brother-in-law of the Maharajah. On the relief of the Rajah's guards from the Palace, and the substitution of troops under Tej Sing, it was determined that Rajah Lall Sing should be escorted by a company of the State troops (*Tej Sing's*) to his own house in the town, without returning to the Palace.

All this was effected without the slightest trouble or disturbance of any kind. Colonel Lawrence, accompanied Sirdar Tej Sing with Dewan Deena Nath and Sirdar Shere Sing to the Palace; and Lieutenant Edwardes, at the request of Sirdar Tej Sing, accompanied Rajah Lall Sing to his own house in the town.

Rajah Lall Sing is now under surveillance of Sikh troops, at his own house, awaiting, by the Chiefs' desire, your Lordship's orders as to his future disposal.

The government is to be carried on by a Commission composed of Sirdar Tej Sing, Dewan Deena Nath, Sirdar Shere Sing, and Khaleefa Noorooddeen, till some further arrangement is made. *The seal of the Maharajah has been for the present deposited, at the joint request of those persons, with Colonel Lawrence.*

Everything is to-day as quiet in the town as if nothing of interest to the people had happened, and the deposition of the Vizier is said to have given universal satisfaction.

The necessary proclamations to the provincial governors and district officers were issued before the Sirdars left my tent yesterday afternoon.

I have, &c.

F. CURRIE.

The Prime Minister conducted as a prisoner to his house by the Sikh troops,—nay, we believe, by his own guard of honor;—and the signet of the Royal minor deposited for safest custody with the British agent: are minute circumstances full of meaning, and which will not escape the eye of the historian.

Rajah Lal Singh's pet project was the creation of a devoted body guard of foreigners and Mussulmans who were to bear him scatheless through revolution. The whole power and wealth of the crown had been at his disposal for nine months; he had raised, equipped and drilled in the English fashion, four new infantry corps, and two troops of horse artillery; and lying perdu in the suburbs of Lahore were between 2,000 and 3,000 Affghan sowars, sworn on the Koran to defend the Brahman Vizier! Yet his own escort led him a prisoner from the

council tent; and all the benefit he derived from their swords was that they cleared the streets of Lahore for him, to pass to the place of his confinement. The incident of the seal is equally significant. The very first emblem of power was a stumbling block to the Sirdars; to which of them was it to be given in charge? Even for a day or two until arrangements could be made to carry on the Government, the jealousy of the other chiefs would not allow one of their number to be trusted with the all-powerful signet, which gives and which takes away. All felt that it would be safe only with a British officer. After this, what augury was wanted to foretell the destiny of the Punjab.

Our space will not permit us to reprint the evidence, and our remarks are only intended as a running commentary on the Blue Book. But we subjoin these three papers on whose authenticity or falsity rested the proof of the Rajah's treason:—

No 1.—*Translation of a perwanna from the Lahore Government to the officers and soldiers under the command of Sheik Imamooddeen.*

"By the grace of God."

|                                       |
|---------------------------------------|
| Sign manual<br>of Rajah<br>Lall Sing. |
|---------------------------------------|

To the officers, and sepoy, and non-commissioned officers under the command of the Governor Sheik Imamooddeen Khan Behadoor in Cashmere.

|                                      |
|--------------------------------------|
| Seal of<br>Maharajah<br>Duleep Sing. |
|--------------------------------------|

This order is now sent to you, and after receiving it you will remain with the Governor Sheik Imamooddeen Khan Behadoor, doing the work of the State; and whenever he returns to the presence, you shall be kept on in the service as before. Have no fear, therefore, but remain with the person in question. This is an imperative order. Consider your welfare as my care.

*Dated 15th of Sawun, 1903, (or 28th of July, 1846.)*

[N. B.—The original MS. is in the handwriting of Múnshi Ruttun Chund of the long beard. The last sentence "consider, &c.," and the date, are in a different hand.]

No. 2.—*Translation of an Ikrarnameh, or deed of promise, accompanying Letter No. 1.*

"By the grace of God."

|                                       |
|---------------------------------------|
| Sign manual<br>of Rajah<br>Lall Sing. |
|---------------------------------------|

I hereby promise that if my friend Sheik Imamooddeen Khan Behadoor, with good-will and fidelity to his proper masters, duly performs the task imposed upon him in a separate letter, my whole interest shall be exerted to secure him from being called to account by the British Government. Whatever allowance either he, or his jagheerdaree horsemen, or the Sheik, his late father, received from the Lahore Government, the same jagheers, and something added to them, as a reward for service, shall be assigned him in the Lahore territory. By the grace of God I will not fail to fulfil this that I have written.

*Dated, Lahore, 12th Saun, 1903, (or 25th of July, 1816.)*

[N. B.—The original MS. is in the handwriting of Lala Pûrun Chund.]

*No 3.—Translation of a letter from Rajah Lall Sing to Sheik Imamooddeen.*

Doubtless you will have perused the contents of my former letter.

My friend, you are not ignorant of the ingratitude and want of faith which Rajah Golab Sing has exhibited towards the Lahore Sirkar. It is indeed sufficiently glaring. I now write, therefore, to request, my friend, that you will not set before your eyes the example of your late father's former intercourse with the aforesaid Rajah, but consider both your duty and your interest to lie thus way, and inflict such injury and chastisement upon the said Rajah, that he shall have reason to remember it. It is to be hoped that if the Rajah makes but one false step, he will never be able to re-establish himself again. For your security and confidence, my friend, I have sent you a separate written guarantee, that you may have no misgivings as to the consequences. Let me hear often of your welfare.

P.S.—Tear up this paper when you have read it.

*Dated 13th Saun.*

[N. B.—The original MS. is in the handwriting of Lala Pûrun Chund. The envelope in which the letter is inclosed is separate; and separate from that again is a slide of paper which closes the envelope; and on this latter is on one side, part of the dictation to the Sheikh, and on the other, the sign manual of Rajah Lall Sing.]

We did not intend extracting from the Court's abstract of the proceedings any more than their remarks on the authenticity of the three documents quoted above; but on reperusal the whole summary of the evidence seems so concise and complete, and the argument upon it so admirable and convincing, that we should do injustice to the subject, if we curtailed it of a line:—

*Abstract of Proceedings, with remarks and decision.*

"The statement of Sheik Imamooddeen is to the effect that he received secret instructions from the Vizier Rajah Lall Sing, through his confidential agent Pûrun Chund, to resist the occupation of Cashmere by Rajah Golab Sing, and to create disturbances in the province; that he replied in a matter of this kind, the mere letters of Poorun Chund would not be sufficient for him to act upon, he must have a writing from the Rajah to himself, and a paper to assure and guide the troops, and that he subsequently received the three papers which he delivered to Colonel Lawrence at Thannah, and that he considered these papers his warrant for raising the rebellion which he had headed, and in which Vizier Luckput Rae and others

The proofs adduced by Sheik Imamooddeen in substantiation of his statement, are these :—

1. A letter said to have been written to him by Rajah Lall Sing, desiring him to create disturbances in the Province of Cashmere and oppose the occupation thereof by Maharajah Golab Sing, dated 13th Sawun.

2. An ikramnameh, dated 12th Sawun, which accompanied the said letter, engaging to maintain him in his jagheers and to intercede with the British officers for his Julunder property, and promising further reward to him and to his followers, if he did as directed in the letter.

3. A perwanna from the Durbar to the officers and soldiers in Cashmere, exhorting them to exert themselves and do good service (khidmut) at the bidding of the Sheik, without fear of consequences, and promising in that case, that they should be continued in service when they came to Lahore.

4. The evidence of Poorun Chund, in corroboration of the statement of the Sheik, as to the nature of the communications which passed between Rajah Lall Sing and the Sheik, through him, his confidential agent at Lahore, and as to the authenticity of the documents.

5. The evidence of Dewan Hakim Rae, a confidential servant of the Durbar, who was deputed from Lahore in August, to bring away the Sheik from Cashmere.

Translations of the above letters and paper, and a transcript of the evidence in full, are in the proceedings.

The above is the evidence adduced by the Sheik, the examination of which occupied the whole of the first day.

On the second day Dewan Deena Nath, on the part of the Durbar, read from notes a paper to the effect that, from the date of concluding the Treaty, the Durbar had at once set themselves to work to carry into effect its provisions, and that in no instance had anything been done in opposition thereto; that in regard to Cashmere measures had been taken to put the officers of the Maharajah Golab Sing in possession of the province, and that as early as May last, the Hurree Purbut was made over to Luckput Rae, the Maharajah's Vizier, who had given a dukkulanameh (a deed acknowledging possession), which he had with him and would produce. In evidence of these assertions, copies of several perwannas to Sheik Imamooddeen, written on different dates about April and May, peremptorily directing him to make over the province and the forts, according to the terms of the Treaty, were produced, the authenticity of which the Sheik did not deny; an urzee from the Sheik to the Durbar was also read (admitted by the Sheik) acknowledging the receipt of these orders and stating his readiness to obey them, but urging the difficulties of settling his accounts with the Maharajah, and making the necessary arrangements in accordance with the Treaty, and requesting a few months' delay. This urzee is dated 1st Bysack, early in May.

The defence then proceeded, in reference to the statement of Dewan Hakim Rae, to state that several perwannas had been sent to that officer from the Durbar to hasten on his way and to perform the service on which he had been sent to bring away the Sheik. Some of these were produced, and admitted by Dewan Hakim Rae. It was urged that Hakim Rae having, contrary to the orders of the Durbar, made culpable delay in proceeding to Cashmere, had concocted the story of secret instructions to exculpate himself.

The next point referred to was the facility of forging signatures, and the great difficulty in detecting such forgeries; in proof of which two orders on the Lahore Pay Office were put in, on which it was asserted pay had been issued on the faith of the signatures being that of Rajah Lall Sing, and which proved afterwards to have been fabricated. (The signatures were clumsy imitations.)

The defence then referred to the evidence of Poorun Chund, in regard to the ikramaneh and letter, in his handwriting, to the Sheik, and stated that it was never the custom of the Durbar, or Vizier, to send an order or important communication to a principal in the handwriting of his confidential agent, but usually the Durbar Moonshees only wrote these orders or communications, but that sometimes other parties, but never the Agents of the parties addressed. (To this Sirdar Shere Sing Attareewala dissented, and told the Dewan that he knew the facts to be otherwise.)

The defence concluded by general observations of the kindness, consideration, and mercy, shown by the British Government to the Maharajah and to the Durbar and to all its members, and dwelt on the improbability, not to say impossibility, of their being so mad as to do an act which must endanger not only themselves and their prospects individually, but must affect the interest of the Maharajah and the existence of the Government. It is stated that this was one of the machinations of Maharajah Golab Sing, whose creature the Sheik was, and had always been, and that this infamous plot was contrived by the Maharajah for the destruction of the Durbar.

Dewan Deena Nath stated that he had nothing further to urge, and the Sheik was asked if he had anything to say in reply. He stated, in reference to the assertion, regarding confidential agents never being employed to write to their principals, that he had numberless letters from the Rajah to himself, written by Poorun Chund, which the Rajah could not, if produced, deny; that two of these he had given to Colonel Lawrence at Thanah (these were with Colonel Lawrence's office, which has not yet arrived, and could not be produced,) and that he had one with him which he requested might be examined, and shown the Rajah. This was a letter written to the Sheik, in the hand-writing of Poorun Chund, and bearing the signature of the Rajah, evidently corresponding with those in the letter and ikramaneh. This communication was apparently sent in April or May. It began by lamenting that the province of Cashmere had been made over to Golab Sing, but stated, that as such was the will of the British Government, it could not be helped. It told him, that when he had made over charge of the Government to the new possessors, he should come to Lahore, where all kindness and consideration would be shown him, and arrangements for his future provision would be made. (The Rajah admitted the authenticity of the letter.)

The Sheik requested that Poorun Chund might be examined as to the important matters in which letters had been written by him in the name of the Rajah, and as to the extent to which the Rajah trusted him. This was assented to. Poorun Chund then commenced disclosures of secret affairs in which he had been employed by the Rajah to write to the Sheik, and other parties, to bring about the murder of Rajah Heera Sing and Pundit Julla, and relative to his having been employed to negotiate the sale of gold stolen from the palace when the Rajah was Toshakameah, but these being foreign to the question at issue, the Court did not think it right to allow him to proceed.

The Sheik said he had nothing further to urge.

With regard to the first letter produced by Sheik Inamooddeen, it is in the hand-writing of Poorun Chund, and not of any of the Durbar Moonshees, but it bears the signature of the Rajah, to all appearance. The Rajah denies this signature; and though, from a comparison with a great many other undoubted and admitted signatures of the Rajah, there seems no reason to doubt its authenticity, it is difficult to prove judicially its genuineness. The genuineness of the letter itself, as to the instructions of Rajah Lal Sing, must rest mainly on the circumstances of the case which will be adverted to more fully hereafter.

The ikramaneh is also in the hand-writing of Poorun Chund; it bears a

date differing one day from that of the letter, which accompanied it; this circumstance is satisfactorily explained by Poorun Chund, in his evidence; and the fact of this difference of date is not to be lost sight of; a person fabricating two documents connected one with the other, and concerning the same transaction, stated to have been sent and delivered by the same bearer, would not be likely to make them of different dates, and thus to render an explanation of their discrepancy necessary. The same as was said of the writing and the seal, in the case of the letter, is equally applicable to the ikrarnamoh. The seal appears genuine; judicial proof of its genuineness, apart from the circumstances of the case is difficult.

The perwanna is in the hand-writing of Moonshee Ruten Chund Reshderras, the Durbar Moonshee. Its authenticity is proved by the writer, and admitted by the Rajah. It is a remarkable document; a literal translation of it, with its date, is given in the margin.\* This, though not noticed by the Durbar in the defence, was stated by the Rajah, on its being produced, to be the only document addressed by him to the troops in Cashmere, either before or after the rebellion. It is proved by the Durbar Moonshee, that it was written by the order of Rajah Lall Sing, when none of the other members of the Government were present, and that it was written after a private and secret conference, the purport of which he does not know, and at the close of which he was called to write it. The Rajah states that it was written at the request of Poorun Chund, who told him that the Sheik asked for a document to assure the troops, and to promise that they would receive their pay on arrival at Lahore with the Sheik, if they would come with him, and that the Sheik could not come away without the troops, as he was afraid of Maharajah Golab Sing, and of being plundered by the way.

But the purport of the perwanna is quite different, *it does not direct the troops to leave Cashmere, and accompany the Sheik to Lahore. It directs them to remain with the Sheik in the performance of service at his bidding, and to have no apprehension.* What assurance and encouragement could the troops require to come to Lahore for their pay?

But if such was the purport and intent of the perwanna, why was its existence studiously kept secret from the political officers at Lahore, who were in daily communication with the Rajah about the evacuation of Cashmere, when every minute circumstance in connection with the affairs of Cashmere, was constantly discussed? On the arrival of this perwanna a salute was fired by the troops. Shortly afterwards the rebellion broke out, and these troops did perform service with the Sheik at his bidding, by attacking the troops of Maharajah Golab Sing, killing the Vizier Luckput Rae, and putting themselves in open rebellion in the province.

If the Rajah did not intend this to be the result of his perwanna, he would assuredly have sent another, explaining what he did mean, and ordering the troops to come away, in direct terms; but he admits that he sent the troops no other communication. If he did not mean the rebellion to be the result of his order, he is still responsible for such result, when he took no means to counteract it. It is altogether impossible, however, to believe, that a document so worded, independently of other

\* Be it known to the officers and soldiers and office-bearers, who are under the orders of Ameenool Moolk Sheik Imamooddeen Behadoor, Governor of (appointed to) Cashmere.

At this time the orders of the Maharajah are issued to you. It behoves you on the receipt of His Highness' order, to remain with Ameenool Moolk Sheik Imamooddeen, in performing services for the Government; and whenever you return to the presence, you will be continued in the service. Be assured; have no apprehension. Remain with the Sheik: attend to his order.

This bears the seal of the Maharajah, and the signature of Rajah Lall Sing.

Dated 15th Sawun, 1903 (or 28th of July, 1846.)



circumstances, was intended to be understood by the troops that they were merely to return to Lahore. *If it were an obscurely worded document, which it is not, its meaning must be judged by the result it produced.*

The Rajah states that his perwanna to the troops was sent to Sheik Imamooddeen, at his request. It could not possibly have gone alone. *It must have been accompanied by some perwanna or letter to the Sheik, apprizing him of its having been sent, and of its purport.* The Sheik produces the letter, which he says accompanied it, and which, if true, explains distinctly the meaning of the perwanna and the transaction. *The Rajah denies the authenticity of this letter, but does not produce or refer to any other;* and as some letter must exist, and the Rajah has no other to adduce, it is but fair to the Sheik, and in accordance with reason, to suppose that the one produced by the Sheik is the true one.

The letter and ikramnameh, moreover, have all the appearance of authenticity, and their seals of being genuine; *prima facie*, there is nothing but the improbability of the transaction, to throw doubt upon them,—the fact of the transaction is established independently of them by the perwanna. All circumstances favour the belief of their authenticity, and the only attempt made by the Durbar to establish their invalidity has signally failed.

Supposing the letter and ikramnameh to be true, *the perwanna to the troops is quite intelligible, and all is in keeping. Assuming them false, and the Rajah's story true, the perwanna, and the reasons for writing it, are altogether inexplicable.*

The evidence of Poorun Chund, as might be expected, tallies with that of his principal, Sheik Imamooddeen. It was given, however, with all the appearance of being true. Every opportunity was given to the Durbar to disprove it, and the only attempt they made to do so, failed. The explanation of the discrepancy of dates is satisfactory.

The evidence of Dewan Hakim Rae is important. He was deputed by the Durbar to Cashmere about the period that the letter was written. He was sent in consequence of the Political officers urging the Durbar to send a special emissary to bring away the Sheik, who was assuming a posture of defiance. It was of importance that he should go with all expedition, and invested with authority to bring away the Sheik. His open instructions were to this purport. He declares that he received secret verbal instructions from the Rajah, directing him to aid and assist the Sheik, who had been written to by him to raise disturbances, and oppose the occupation of Rajah Golab Sing. A vakeel from the Agency was sent with the Dewan, to take him the nearest road, by Jummo. On learning this, by the written representation of the Dewan, Rajah Lal Sing, ordered him to go by the circuitous route of Bhimber and Rajourie. The Dewan, who was in constant communication with the Rajah, took twenty days in reaching Rajourie, which he could easily have done in seven, and did not reach that place until the rebellion had broken out. His delay was known to the Rajah. Perwannas were certainly sent by the Durbar to hasten on, but no other emissary was sent to enforce the orders, the neglect of which was known; till at last the Political Agent insisted on another officer going, and then Utter Sing was dispatched. The written orders to go by Bhimber and Rajourie, and not as the Political Agent directed, by Jummo, and the unaccountable delay in reaching Rajourie and Cashmere (he was one month and eight days in going, and fifteen days in returning), tend to confirm the statement which he makes that he received secret orders from the Rajah, contrary to those which were given openly by the Durbar.

The circumstances stated in the defence bear very little on the matter at issue. The only facts stated are: 1st, the orders given by the Durbar to the Sheik, to evacuate the province; 2dly, the perwanna sent to Dewan Hakim

Rae, to proceed on his mission; and 3dly, the practice of never employing an agent to write the letter addressed to his principal. The two first of these are admitted, and they do not affect the case; and the third is satisfactorily disproved by a document admitted to be true.

Upon full deliberation and consideration, of the evidence and statements referred to above, we are unanimously of opinion that it is established and proved, that the Vizier, Rajah Lall Sing, did encourage Sheik Imamooddeen to excite disturbance in Cashmere, and to oppose the occupation of the province by Maharajah Golah Sing: and that he did encourage the troops in the province to aid Sheik Imamooddeen in the late rebellion.

We do not find it proved that the other members of the Durbar were participators with the Rajah Lall Sing in the above proceeding, or cognizant thereof

|                                |                    |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|
| F. CURRIE, <i>President,</i>   |                    |
| H. M. LAWRENCE,                |                    |
| J. H. LITTLER, <i>M.-Gen.,</i> | } <i>Members."</i> |
| JOHN LAWRENCE,                 |                    |
| A. GOLDIE, <i>Lt-Col</i>       |                    |

—But one act of the Drama now remains: the one most interesting to all thinking minds, all who believe that the extension of our influence in the East brings good with it to the people.

After the deposition of Rajah Lal Singh from the Vizariat, it was resolved to remove him also from the kingdom. This was rendered necessary by the violent and shameless passion of the Queen Mother. Laying aside even the last appearances of matronly modesty, she abandoned herself to alternate ravings and intrigues; now imprecating like deserted Dido—

“——— Nullus amor populis, hec fœdera sunt:”

“Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.”\*

—now imploring the Sirdars—the British Resident—*any body*—to restore her lover. It was quite inconsistent with the peace of the Punjab, that the Rani and the late Vizier should both remain in it. Accordingly the Rajah was sent into a merciful banishment at Agra, in the British territory; where he still resides upon a pension of rupees 2,000 a month from the Lahore state.

So far back as September 19th, 1846, we learn from the Blue Book, that Lord Hardinge had determined (in case the Lahore authorities should feel unable to carry on the government, and place themselves in the hands of the British) to refuse positively any further interference, which was not based on the complete control of the civil and military administrations. He would consent only to “a transfer of power from their hands to those of a British officer, residing at the capital, assisted by a native council, and supported by British troops.”

\* *Æneid*, Lib. IV. 624.

† Letter No. 2, September 19th, 1846.

For this Lord Hardinge has been blamed. We think if he had not calculated *all* chances, and been prepared for *all* events, he ought to have been *impeached*. He was pledged to withdraw the British troops in December; the Durbar, the Rani, and the Vizier all warned him that in that case the government must fall, and disorganization ensue; i. e., the supreme power in the Punjab would once more return into the hands of the Khalsa Army. Yet the Governor-General of British India was not to premeditate such a catastrophe. Last year the cry was that *he was taken by surprise* in December 1845; that the Sikh invasion found him *unprepared*; that he should have even *anticipated the attack*!

There's a deal of wit in that fable of Æsop's about "the old man, and his son, and the ass." We recommend it to certain oblivious and inconsistent public writers; or (if they prefer their own wit to Æsop's) an occasional repurusal of what they wrote six months ago. On December 9th, 1846, Mr. Currie conveyed to the Maharajah the Governor-General's sentiments as follows:—

"It is now incumbent on Your Highness' Government and the Chiefs who have the greatest interest in the preservation of the Reasut, to decide upon the course which may be deemed best for the interest of the State to adopt, under present circumstances. It is the anxious hope of his Lordship, that such arrangements will be made, as may conduce to the establishment and maintenance of the Government; but it must be clearly understood that *after the experience, during the last eight months, of the maladministration and bad faith of the late Vizier, Rajah Lall Sing, the Governor-General will not consent to leave a British force at Lahore, beyond the stipulated period, for the sake of supporting a Government which can give no assurance of its power to govern justly as regards its people, and no guarantee for the performance of its obligations towards its neighbours.* It behoves Your Highness and the Sirdars of the State, to be most careful in the reconstruction of the Government, either by the appointment of a capable Vizier, or by such other course as may be deemed most expedient: in these arrangements the British Government can exercise no interference, but the Governor-General will be ready, if required, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty, to give the Government of Your Highness the aid of his advice and good offices, for the furtherance of his interests of the Lahore Government.

The Governor-General, however, considers it incumbent on him to caution Your Highness and the Sirdars of the Reasut, that *his Lordship is determined to hold the Lahore Government responsible for the tranquillity of the frontier, and that he will not permit the renewal of a state of anarchy, misrule, and military insubordination, similar to that which existed last year.* His Lordship is anxious that the British Government should always continue in terms of peace and amity with its neighbours, but it must hold the neighbouring State responsible that a state of things adverse to the interests of British subjects and destructive of the tranquillity of the British frontier, shall not be permitted to prevail within it. My friend, I have communicated to Your Highness these friendly sentiments of the Governor-General, which have their origin in a sincere desire for the welfare of

Your Highness' Government, and I feel satisfied that, by following the advice of His Lordship, Your Highness will secure the happiness and prosperity of yourself and kingdom."

And the Maharajah thus replied :—

"As the Governor-General is desirous of maintaining this State, it is not proper that the whole of the British force stationed here should be put to further inconvenience and annoyance. Nevertheless with regard to the necessity for establishing the Government of the country, and the fact of the time for the withdrawal of the troops having arrived it is hoped, that the Agent, with two battalions, and one regiment of cavalry and one battery, may be allowed to continue for some months, during which what still remains to be done to complete the organization of the Government in an efficient manner may be effected; and there can be no doubt that Colonel Lawrence will, according to the provisions of the Treaty, give every aid and assistance in establishing the Government."

In other words the Sikh Sirdars wanted to have a contingent; to vaccinate Maharajah Dhulip Singh from the arm of the little boy at Gwalior.

Mr. Currie assured them that there was no hope of their being assisted to tyrannise, and insured against insurrection,—that melancholy birthright of the oppressed! The Sirdars were invited to Mr. Currie's tent to hear in detail on what terms alone the Governor-General would any longer assist them in governing the country. We quote his own words :—

"If solicited to aid in the administration of the Government, during the minority of the Maharajah, the British Agent must have full authority to interfere in, and to control all matters, in every department of the State, for the benefit of all connected with the Rensut.

In such case every attention would be paid to the feelings of the Sikh people, to preserving the national institutions and customs, and to maintaining the just rights of all classes. No changes in the details of administration would be made not necessary for obtaining these objects, and these details would be conducted by Native officers, as at present, who would be appointed and superintended by a Council of Regency, composed of the leading Chiefs and Sirdars, acting under the control and guidance of the British officers.

The administration of the country would be conducted by this Council of Regency in the manner determined on by themselves in consultation with the British officer, who would have full authority to interfere in, and to direct the duties of every department.

The members of this Council of Regency, once chosen, would not be liable to be displaced or changed without the concurrence of the Governor-General in Council!

A British force would remain at Lahore for the protection of the city and country, in such position as the Governor-General should think best adapted for the security of the force, and, at the same time, for the convenience of the inhabitants of the town.

A fixed sum in monthly instalments must be set apart from the revenues of the country for the maintenance of this force.

The Governor-General must be at liberty to occupy any military post or fort with British soldiers which his Lordship may deem necessary for the security of the capital, or for maintaining the peace of the country.

The provisions of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th of March, would remain in full force, except as affected, temporarily, by this arrangement, which would have effect only during the minority of the Maharajah Duleep Sing, or such shorter period as should be determined on by the British Government, with the concurrence of the Council of Regency.

On the coming of age of the Maharajah, or at any period prior to that event, when the Governor-General should be satisfied that the interposition of British agency is no longer necessary for the maintenance of the Government, this arrangement would cease. The British troops and officers would withdraw, and the Treaty of Lahore of the 9th of March, would be in full force and operation.

If these principles are agreed to by the Chiefs, minor details may be determined on, and Articles of Agreement, to supersede those of the 11th of March, may be executed."

The "fixed sum" was afterwards defined to mean twenty-four lakhs of rupees per annum. The expences of the original force of occupation were thirty lakhs; and the Governor-General did not think that that force could be prudently reduced; but a generous allowance was made for the difficulties of the Maharajah, and six lakhs short of the estimated expence demanded.

Finally the sum was still further reduced and fixed at twenty-two lakhs. The hard bargaining on this point gives us a high opinion of the financial abilities of Dewan Dina Nath, the Sikh Chancellor of Exchequer; and assures us that Col. Lawrence will have a powerful coadjutor in increasing the revenues and reducing the expences of the Lahore State!

The new articles of agreement of which these were the preliminaries were signed at Lahore on the 16th December; and ratified by the Governor-General at Byrowal on the Beas river on the 26th December, 1846. In them was inserted a provision of 1,50,000 Rs. a year for the Rani; a sugar plum to help down the bitter pill of exclusion from the regency and all political power. In our humble opinion, this was a half measure; and not "a golden mean." The character of Rani Junda was well known. Her life had been spent in the most exciting political intrigues, and the most unbridled gratification of her sensual passions; she was now to be denied both. Physically, and morally, she was to be "cabined, cribbed, confined." Then why not get rid of her altogether? If she had been sent to Hindustan at once, it could not have added a grain to her disgust; even if she had been kept at a decent distance from her exiled lover; and it would have effectually prevented her from disturbing the peace, and thwarting those who had succeeded her in authority, instead of which, she has a lakh and a half of rupees put at her disposal. To cross a bad woman's path, and then give her the power to be mischevous, is as misplaced

mercy, as when a traveller who treads upon a snake, relents and lifts his foot to give it an opportunity to escape. The first use the reptile makes of liberty is not to hide itself in the earth, but to bite the heel that bruised it.

We close our extracts from this interesting "Blue Book" with the following :—

"The notification which I have caused to be published of the recent transactions at Lahore contains a statement of the circumstances which have led to the modification of the Treaty. The Articles of Agreement have been inserted in that document. The Sardars and Chiefs, in coming to this decision, have exercised their own judgment, influenced, no doubt, by the conviction that the interests of the Maharajah and the welfare of the people can best be secured by cultivating the friendship of the British Government.

Acting on the same principle, of maintaining the Lahore Treaty, and of strengthening the bonds of unity and peace, I have undertaken, on the part of the British Government, to carry the terms of the Agreement into effect. No permanent alteration has been made in the Treaty of Lahore; every Article remains in full force, with the exception of the temporary suspension of Article XV. during the minority of the Maharajah.

*The interposition of British influence will be exercised for the advantage of the people, and the success of this interposition will be assisted by the confidence and cordiality with which the Sardars will co-operate with the British Resident.*

That Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, is well known to the Chiefs, by his energy, talents, and integrity; by these qualities he has conciliated their good-will and respect.

*The Agreement ratified this day, as well as the recent events at Lahore, will, I trust, impress upon every State in India the conviction that, whilst the British Government will, by just means, firmly consolidate its Eastern Empire, it will omit no efforts to improve the condition, and promote the prosperity, of all classes of the people.*

I also trust, that when His Highness shall have arrived at the age prescribed by law for assuming the government of the country, he will establish his rule on the firm basis of making his people happy, by his equity and justice.

In the interval, the British Government will feel a cordial solicitude in all that regards His Highness' personal welfare."

A word or two, ere we bid our readers good-bye on our past and present position at the Sikh Capital.

A drizzling shower of small criticisms has assailed Lord Hardinge's non-interference policy throughout the year; and the Lahore Akbais have been diligently searched for items of interference to convict him of breach of treaty. We number ourselves also among the "constant readers" of that corner of the *Dellhi Gazette* which reports sayings and doings at Lahore; but we never could find that the British authorities had interfered for aught save peace and mercy; objects so holy that we should assuredly forgive a stretch of prerogative to secure them, and when the critics themselves are so divided in opinion, it is rather hard to talk of inconsistency. One writer (Dr.

MacGregor, a great admirer of Sindh policy and Sindh tactics, commenting on the "Cow Row" at Lahore, in April, 1846, blames the Governor-General's agent for *not interfering*, and leaving the punishment of the citizens of the capital to the Maharajah's ministers.\* In the end, by the patience of the political officers who would not allow their escort to draw their swords, or to fire a shot, and thus bring on a massacre, the riot subsided; the ringleader, a brahman of notorious bad character, was arrested, tried, and convicted of having led on an armed mob to attack the Governor-General's agent and his assistants; and by the advice of the agent, the Durbar hanged him. Yet another writer called this interference a *murder*! If any one of the British officers had fallen on the occasion in question, we presume it would have been simple manslaughter? As it was, one had his head broken and all were struck; and the connoisseurs in civic riots need not to be told that bullets soon follow bricks. The denouncers of the brahman's murder would perhaps have better understood the case, had they, like Col. Lawrence and his assistants, stood face to face with him and a thousand other armed blackguards "as good as he," all furious with religious excitement, and thirsting for the blood of the Feringhi: if turning to avoid collision and bloodshed, they had run the gauntlet down a narrow street, every house top and balcony of which was crowded with banyahs, tearing up bricks and copings, and hurling them down with right hearty "intent to kill." Strange to say, the very same conscientious journalist, who was horrified at the execution of the convicted malefactor, was, a month after, eloquent upon the folly of interfering in the Kote Kangra affair, and taking the siege into our own hands: the alternative being that if the fort was not *given up* by the Durbar, the Punjab would be again at our mercy for breach of treaty. Even some impartial writers have been so far run away with by the cry of *non-interference* as to question what right we had to meddle in the Mooltan dispute between Rajah Lal Singh and Dewan Mulraj. What right? Why the right that any one man has to mediate between two others who call him in as umpire: and the obligation of every honest man to repress strife, and make peace when it lies in his power. It would have been a creditable thing truly, for the Governor-General to have refused to be the mediator; to have stuck to the letter, and not to the spirit of the treaty; and said "I am very sorry, but I have pledged myself *not to interfere* in the internal management of the kingdom. Fight away, therefore, gentlemen, for I have also pledged myself to

\* "History of the Sikhs," 2nd vol. p. 288.

enforce peace on the frontier; and your quarrel puts the Punjab in jeopardy!"

We take a totally different view of these *interferences*; and congratulate Lord Hardinge and his agents in the N. W. on these eccentric "breaches of the treaty," which in one instance restored peace to the capital and prevented a rising at Amritsur; in another, saved the Maharajah from breaking the treaty with us, and so losing his kingdom; and in the third, put an instant stop to a civil war: brought an ill-used and victorious Governor as a suppliant to Lahore; and preserved to the state the services of the best Nazim in the Punjab.

We cannot leave this subject without expressing our regret, that the well-informed and trust-worthy journal, which supplies all India, and we believe all England with North West Frontier Intelligence (the "*Delhi Gazette*,") and which in general so cordially supports the forbearing policy pursued by Lord Hardinge in the Punjab, should not only assert our right, but set forth the propriety of killing cows at Lahore.

We utterly deny both.

The Punjab is not ours; it belongs to the Sikh people; and we have pledged ourselves solemnly by treaty to pay every attention to their feelings; to preserve their national institutions and customs." History tells us that no national institution or custom has been more dearly cherished or more bloodily maintained by the Khalsa, than their veneration for the cow.

The *Delhi's* proposition therefore is simply that we should perjure ourselves, and break the treaty, in order that our soldiers may eat beef.

So much for our *right* to kill cows: the impropriety of our doing so rests on other grounds.

Would it be proper, or would it be humane, during our short occupancy of the Punjab, to sanction proceedings that would inevitably cause slaughter and bloodshed the day we leave the country? If we set the example of cow-killing ourselves, how can we expect to prevent the Mussulman population from doing so too? To mark the consequences. The offence is *murder* by the Sikh law; and the Sikh law we are bound to uphold.\*

Say it is a bad law; still the fact remains the same that it is the law, and that therefore we must maintain it, and just as certainly as any Mussulman would suffer *death* for killing

\* In saying this we do not believe, that the political authorities would permit the Lahore Durbar to exact the penalty of a human life for that of a brute beast; but assuredly they would not interfere further than to commute the punishment of death.



a cow, were *we not occupying Lahore*; so certainly would the common practice of it under our protection be fearfully avenged by a Mussulman massacre as soon as we departed.

We anticipate here the easy but somewhat profligate jest that, "we shall never depart from the Punjab." In all deference, we do not see the certainty; and should be very sorry to do so: much less should we like to see our authorities *acting* on such an expectation.

No: in entire good faith, let us act up to the honest spirit of our Sikh treaties; and we may rely upon it that we shall then have the Punjab, and all else that is good for us, as soon as it is our real interest that it should become an integral portion of British India.

In earlier numbers of the *Calcutta Review* we have made confession of our political faith; of our notions of the rights of Indian princes, and the Indian people; of the duties of résidents, ministers and kings. We have repeatedly expressed our belief that those three authorities can never work well together; and the Lahore proceedings of 1846 are the latest, if not the strongest, illustration of the fact. But our readers require not to be reminded, that Lord Hardinge consented to the original occupation of Lahore against his own wishes and convictions—and that only at the last moment—in the magnanimous though desperate hope of re-establishing a prostrate state. There was just *one* new and favourable feature in the circumstances of the case which justified trying the experiment of a triumvirate policy again; the king was a nonentity from his age—thus reducing the triumvirate to two; and the minister knew so well that he kept his head upon his shoulders only by our presence, that it was reasonable to suppose there would be but *one* opinion between him and the British agent. But blinded by pride and vanity he "threw to the dogs" the physis of advice. He always accepted but never followed the prescription,—the worst species of intractability either in medicine or morals. Incapable of taking a broad view of his own position, he thought that if he pleased the *Sahib log*, a little things, they would not look closely into great things. Accordingly he cultivated garrison popularity; and made his approaches to the good opinion of John Bull through the old avenue—the stomach. Grapes, quinces and pomegranates from Kabul, oranges from Shalimar; mangoes from Mooltan; ice from the Chumba hills;—all were pressed upon the Generals, Brigadiers, Colonels, Captains, and Politicians. And wild boars were hunted down on the banks, and nets of fish drawn from the waters of the Ravi, to relieve the monotony of the













